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THE PSEUDO-ARANDA MEMOIR OF 1783¹

A secret memoir² purporting to have been written by the Conde de Aranda, Spain's ambassador to France, and to have been submitted by him to Charles III of Spain at the close of the American Revolution was published for the first time in 1827. It appeared in an augmented French translation of William Coxe's *Memoirs of the Kings of Spain of the House of Bourbon* published at Paris in that year by the Spanish historian and refugee, Andrés Muriel, who had obtained a manuscript copy of it from another Spanish refugee in Paris, the Duke of San Fernando.

Since its publication, few documents relating to the history of America have enjoyed a greater vogue than this memoir. Those who have relied upon it represent many countries in Europe and America and many fields of history—the history

¹ For advice or other assistance in the preparation of this paper, I am indebted to Professors Arthur S. Aiton, Charles E. Chapman, and Roy F. Nichols, and to Drs. L. W. Bealer and Roscoe Hill. This statement does not transfer to them any of the responsibility for my views.

² William Coxe, *L'Espagne sous les rois de la maison de Bourbon* (translated into French, with notes and additions, by Andrés Muriel, 6 vols., Paris, 1827), VI, 45-54: "Mémoire remis secrètement au Roi par S. Exc. le comte d'Aranda sur l'indépendance des colonies anglaises, après avoir signé le Traité de Paris de 1783". A footnote on p. 54, at the end of the memoir, reads, "Manuscrit. Collection de M. le duc de San Fernando". Muriel did not give any further information about the document and did not seem to realize that its authenticity might be open to question. For the Duke of San Fernando, see the text and note 6 of the present article.

of Spain and Hispanic America and of the foreign relations and westward expansion of the United States.³ Some historians have quoted, as an amazing example of prophetic vision, the memoir's warning that the United States, though born a pygmy, would become the colossus of the western hemisphere and a menace to the Spanish dominions; some have quoted its extraordinary plan for the reorganization of the Spanish empire in America to guard against that menace; and some have even relied upon it as a faithful statement of Aranda's attitude toward the American revolution.

Remarkable both for its contents and for the great popularity it has enjoyed for so long a time among historians of such varied interests, the secret memoir is even more remarkable for the vitality that has enabled it to survive the grievous wounds it has suffered in the course of the past eighty years. For it has been denounced as a forgery by three highly competent historians—Antonio Ferrer del Río, Hermann Baumgarten, and Richard Konetzke;⁴ the first of these attacks, and probably the most effective, was made in 1855 and the last in 1929; and yet its vogue has not diminished but, especially in recent years, has rather increased. Only a few of those who have continued to rely upon the memoir have tried to refute the arguments against its authenticity; the majority have simply ignored the question. If Ferrer del Río and Baumgarten and Konetzke are right and the memoir is a forgery, then this case is a striking illustration of the tenacity with which historical error, once firmly established, withstands repeated exposure.

The problem suggested in the foregoing paragraphs is not a simple one. We must not only determine, if possible,

³ See the last paragraph of the bibliographical note at the end of this article.

⁴ Antonio Ferrer del Río, "El Conde de Aranda. Su dictamen sobre la América española", *Revista de Ambos Mundos*, III (Madrid, 1855), 565-581, and *Historia del Reinado de Carlos III* (4 vols., Madrid, 1856), III, 403-407 summarizing the article just cited; Hermann Baumgarten, *Geschichte Spaniens vom Ausbruch der Französischen Revolution bis auf unsere Tage* (3 vols., Leipzig, 1865-1871), I, 84, note; Richard Konetzke, *Die Politik des Grafen Aranda* (Berlin, 1929), pp. 182-185.

whether the memoir is genuine, as some competent writers have asserted, or spurious, as others of equal competence have undertaken to prove; but we must also explain, as well as possible, how so dubious a document gained and has continued to enjoy such wide acceptance among historians. The latter question ought to interest all historical students, because any answer to it would be a more or less valuable footnote to the history of historical writing. The former question is of interest primarily to students of the history of the Spanish empire and it will interest them mainly because of its bearing upon another question: namely, what thought Spanish statesmen gave to the problem of imperial reorganization and defense in the revolutionary era that began with our own war for independence. The Conde de Aranda was one of the most eminent Spanish statesmen of that period, and his views are all the more interesting because he was for many years in close contact with the leaders of French thought at a time when Paris was the intellectual capital of Europe and when Europe was engaged in lively speculation about the future of America. Since the secret memoir purports to give Aranda's views on the future of America in general and particularly on the problem of imperial reorganization and defense in Spanish America, we need to know whether it is authentic.

I

The original manuscript of the secret memoir has never been seen by anyone and is not known to exist. The problem before us is, therefore, one of probability: Is it probable, in the light of the evidence now available, that Aranda was the author of the memoir published over his name by Muriel? We are justified in confining our attention to the Muriel text, for it has been the basis of practically all comments, whether friendly or hostile, on the memoir; all the other known texts are substantially identical with it and, indeed, they might well have been copied from it, since none of them is known to have been in existence prior to the publication of Muriel's text.

Our problem of probability involves several questions. The first of these is whether the provenance of the document and the circumstances under which Muriel published it inspire confidence in its authenticity. That this question must be answered in the negative has been admitted even by Carlos Navarro y Lamarca, who defends the memoir and whose opinion is important because he has evidently made a more careful study of the question than most of its other defenders. Alluding to the fact that at the time of its publication both Muriel⁵ and the Duke of San Fernando⁶ were living in exile in Paris, he writes:⁷

Si entendemos solo á la crítica de origen de este documento, ni el espía Español Muriel, apologeta incondicional y sumiso en París del Conde de Aranda, ni el despreciable intrigantuelo Melgarejo, luego Duque de San Fernando, de cuyas Ms. dice Muriel haber sacado el documento . . . merecen crédito alguno.

This admission, made by a careful student who believes in the authenticity of the memoir, saves us the trouble of insisting on the fact that the circumstances surrounding the birth

⁵ Very little seems to be known about Muriel's life—hardly more than is contained in the extremely brief biographical sketch in the *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*. Commenting on the paucity of information about him, the writer of the prefatory note to Muriel's *Historia de Carlos IV*—cited below, note 20—I, v-vi, promised to print in the last volume any further data that he might find; but apparently he found none, for none is contained in that volume. The writer of the prefatory note did not even tell how the manuscript of the *Historia* came into the possession of the Spanish Royal Academy of History, though the question is a natural one since, so far as we know, Muriel never returned to Spain after the restoration of Ferdinand VII.

⁶ Joaquín José Melgarejo de Ruiz Dávalos, Duque de San Fernando, had served as secretary of state for foreign affairs under Ferdinand VII. He took office on September 12, 1819 (Ballesteros (cited below, note 11), VII, 154), but held the post only a few months. During that period he conducted the negotiations with the United States regarding the ratification of the Adams-Onís treaty of that year (*American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, IV, 662 ff.).

⁷ Carlos Navarro y Lamarca, *Compendio de la historia general de América* (2 vols., Buenos Aires, 1910-1913), II, 543-544, note. The author states that both he and Professor "Skepherd" (the late William R. Shepherd) searched in vain for the original manuscript of the secret memoir. It might be inferred that Shepherd published an article on our problem; but neither I nor the persons whom I have consulted have been able to find such an article.

of the secret memoir create a presumption against its legitimacy. It will not be superfluous, however, to state certain facts which strengthen that presumption.

In the *Memoirs* of Manuel de Godoy, Prince of the Peace, there occurs a passage which is designed to discredit not only the Duke of San Fernando and Muriel, but also many other Spanish writers of the period. If the assertions contained in it are true, they constitute so important a bibliographical item that the rather long passage is worth quoting in full. Attacking one of the documents published in Muriel's augmented translation of Coxe, Godoy wrote:⁸

Who has supplied this document? M. Melgarejo, lately created Duke of San Fernando, who, having forfeited the good graces of his master in 1823, was endeavouring to recover them by fresh services. During the reign of Ferdinand VII, the court of Madrid maintained political traveling clerks in various quarters, in Paris, and especially in London, in order to watch the movements of emigrants of all opinions, and tamper with all writers whose pens might have laid aside all restraint on the subject of the Spanish government. These emissaries were to enter into arrangements with newspaper writers, and with concoctors of biographies or histories, who should lavish as much praise as possible upon the existing reign, and at all events be unsparing in their aspersions on past times. . . . Those manoeuvres are of public notoriety, and were well rewarded. . . . Should any one ask me what profit Father Muriel derived from the insults he has heaped upon me in his additional notes [i.e., the voluminous "additional notes" and documents inserted by Muriel in his translation of Coxe], I reply by referring to what is manifest to all. Whether an emigrant or a refugee of an earlier date, and under more serious circumstances than Melgarejo, his provider of documents, he was anxious, as may well be supposed, to be reinstated into favour. In his work he heaps contumelious reproaches upon me, and worse than that, upon his first, his excellent sovereign, Charles IV. Accordingly, Ferdinand VII. has created him a knight of the royal and distinguished order of Charles III.

⁸ *Memoirs of Don Manuel de Godoy*, tr. J. G. d'Esmond (2 vols., London, 1836), I, 326-327.

We do not vouch for the truth of Godoy's charges, for he often lied shamelessly; but in that period—the Bourbon restoration—Clio was so frequently prostituted to partisan purposes that there may have been some truth in them. At any rate, they should not be dismissed without consideration of the following facts, which a French scholar has recently ferreted out of the Paris police records and published in his admirable biography of the Spanish author and political leader, Francisco Martínez de la Rosa:⁹ After the collapse of the constitutional government of Spain in 1823, Martínez de la Rosa took refuge in Paris; in the period 1824-1826 he maintained close and amicable relations with the Spanish embassy in Paris, despite the fact that he was a refugee from Spain; and in 1824 one of his two most intimate associates in Paris was no less a person than Muriel's "provider of documents", the Duke of San Fernando. These facts do not prove Godoy's charges against Muriel, but they do show precisely the channels through which the influence of the Spanish court or authoritative advice as to what would please the court, might have reached Muriel in the period immediately preceding the publication of his translation of Coxe with the additional notes and documents denounced by Godoy.

If we may believe that in this instance Godoy was telling the truth for once, his charges have an obvious bearing upon our problem; for the secret memoir of 1783 was one of the documents supplied to Muriel by the Duke of San Fernando. To be sure, Godoy made an exception in favor of this memoir and treated it as authentic despite its origin; but he gave no good reason for making the exception and evidently made it because, for various reasons, it was to his advantage to have the memoir regarded as the authentic work of Aranda.¹⁰ The

⁹ Jean Sarrailh, *Un homme d'état espagnol: Martínez de la Rosa* (Bordeaux and Paris, 1930), pp. 170-172.

¹⁰ For one thing, Godoy himself may have been responsible for the forgery of the memoir (see below in the text). For another, Godoy used the Aranda memoir, which he described as "wholly French", to make his own "wholly Spanish" plan of Spanish imperial reorganization shine by comparison. For

impartial student is less likely to indorse Godoy's exception than to hold that the suspicion engendered by his charges attaches equally to all of the documents that Muriel obtained from the Duke of San Fernando.

Our second question is whether the secret memoir was actually submitted by Aranda to Charles III, as it purports to have been; and this question, too, must be answered in the negative. No one has ever found any reference to the memoir in the contemporary sources. Some of its defenders¹¹ have indeed claimed to have found such a reference in a letter written by Floridablanca in 1786; but, as a matter of fact, this letter refers not to the controverted memoir of 1783 but to a letter written by Aranda to Floridablanca earlier in the same year (1786);¹² and, as we shall see, Aranda's letter actually adds a great deal to the argument against the authenticity of the memoir. Some writers have also cited the *Memoirs* of Manuel de Godoy as a contemporary reference to the Memoir; but there are four main objections to this: first, that Godoy's *Memoirs* are not a contemporary record but were composed more than fifty years after the alleged submission of the Aranda memoir; second, that Godoy could not have had any personal knowledge of that event, since he came to court only in 1784 and was then a mere lad of seventeen and a guardsman; third, that his *Memoirs* are notoriously unreliable and must be carefully checked by contemporary sources; and fourth, that, as will soon appear, it is possible that he himself was the forger of the secret memoir of 1783.

this passage, Konetzke cites Godoy, *Memorias* (Madrid, 1836-1842), III, 288. I have not been able to locate this edition; perhaps the one published at Madrid, 1836-1838, in five volumes, is meant.

¹¹ E.g., François Rousseau, *Règne de Charles III d'Espagne* (2 vols., Paris, 1907), II, 248, and Antonio Ballesteros y Beretta, *Historia de España* (8 vols., Barcelona, 1918-1936), V, 454-455.

¹² Excerpts from Aranda's letter, which is dated Paris, March 12, 1786, are printed in Ferrer del Río, "El Conde de Aranda", *loc. cit.*, pp. 578-580, and in Modesto de Lafuente, *Historia General de España* (30 vols., Madrid, 1850-1869), XXI, 171-174 (Part III, Book 8, Chap. 21). Lafuente also reproduces part of Floridablanca's reply, dated April 6, 1786.

While the argument from silence is seldom if ever conclusive, it is at least highly persuasive when, as in the present case, it points to the same conclusion as all the other evidence; and it is almost incredible that so remarkable a document as the secret memoir, which purports to have been presented to the king by so conspicuous a person as Aranda, could have failed to leave a single trace in the contemporary sources.¹³

Our next and most important question is whether the internal evidence indicates that the secret memoir was the work of Aranda. The advocates of the memoir have, of course, answered this question in the affirmative;¹⁴ but they have never succeeded in controverting the main arguments with which its critics have sought to prove that it could not have been written by Aranda. Its most recent critic, Dr. Konetzke, who has made a close study of Aranda's political ideas and whose opinion is therefore entitled to serious consideration, maintains that the principles to which Aranda adhered throughout his public career would never have permitted him to propose that the commerce of Spanish America should be thrown open to France and that the maintenance of the integrity of the Spanish empire should be made to depend largely upon dynastic ties—proposals contained in the memoir. No advocate of the memoir has ever succeeded in reconciling these proposals with Aranda's political principles.

There are also two specific matters, one of fact and the other of opinion, on which there is a sharp conflict between the memoir and Aranda's genuine writings. The first is that

¹³ It is true that, according to some writers, Charles III did receive the memoir and was so offended by it that he dismissed Aranda from his service; but Konetzke has already pointed out that this story is utterly false. It probably had its origin in Godoy's *Memoirs*; it is related briefly in Jules Mancini, *Bolívar et l'émancipation des colonies espagnoles des origines à 1815* (Paris, 1912), p. 74, and fully and fantastically in Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Mexico* (6 vols., San Francisco, 1883-1888), III, 388-390.

¹⁴ E.g., Diego Barros Arana, *Historia Jeneral de Chile* (16 vols., Santiago, Chile, 1884-1902), VI, 425-428, especially note 24, p. 426. I cite this example because Navarro y Lamarca recommends the passage ("las preciosas notas y texto de Barros Arana").

the memoir represents Aranda as having opposed the granting of aid by France and Spain to the United States during the war of the American Revolution; while Aranda's genuine correspondence of that period shows that he was one of the most bellicose officials to be found anywhere in either France or Spain and that he even went so far as to urge the Spanish court to form an alliance with the United States and enter the war on its side.¹⁵ Lafuente¹⁶ and other apologists for the memoir have tried to explain away this glaring contradiction by asserting that it may have been due to a change of opinion on Aranda's part; but this explanation misses the point completely, for what is involved is not a question of opinion but of veracity. The memoir neither states nor implies that Aranda had changed his mind; it makes an utterly and demonstrably false statement of the opinion that Aranda held during the war and of his actions in support of that opinion.

There is also a sharp conflict between the plan of imperial reorganization proposed in the memoir and one that Aranda proposed less than three years later. The latter plan is contained in the letter of 1786 to Floridablanca mentioned above.¹⁷ Some of the defenders of the memoir have asserted that these two plans are practically identical; but anyone who will take the trouble to compare them (both of them have been published) will see that they are widely different in detail and radically different in principle.

Thus, while the secret memoir proposed to revolutionize the government of the whole of Spanish America except the West Indies, the letter of 1786 would have left the existing system untouched in New Spain, the Spanish borderlands from Florida to California, and South America north of the Amazon, as well as the West Indies. While the secret memoir

¹⁵ Juan F. Yela Utrilla, *España ante la independencia de los Estados Unidos* (2d ed., 2 vols., Lérida, 1925), II, 39-48, despatch from Aranda to Grimaldi, January 13, 1777. Ferrer del Río, "El Conde de Aranda," *loc. cit.*, pp. 569-578, discusses this point at length.

¹⁶ XV, 85.

¹⁷ Aranda's letter of March 12, 1786, cited above, note 12.

proposed to revolutionize also the commercial system of Spanish America, the letter of 1786 has not a word to say on that subject. While the secret memoir proposed to divide the whole of continental Spanish America into three kingdoms to be ruled over by as many Spanish *infantes* who would probably soon have leagued together to establish their complete independence of Spain, the letter of 1786 proposed to establish only one *infante* in Spanish America and to put him in such an isolated position confronting the Braganza empire of Brazil-Peru that he might reasonably have been expected to remain dependent upon and therefore loyal to Spain. While the secret memoir proposed to reward the king of Spain for his great sacrifice by the precarious compensation of an annual tribute from America, the letter of 1786 proposed an advantageous territorial exchange for a valuable consideration in hand. And finally, while the secret memoir represented Aranda as most apprehensive of losses in North America and most fearful of the United States, the letter of 1786 represented him as most apprehensive of losses in South America and most fearful of the "powers of Europe".

It is difficult to believe that Aranda, who was extraordinarily tenacious, could have been so fickle as to propose, within the short space of three years, two plans that were so radically different from each other as to be practically irreconcilable. And how shall we account for the failure of the letter of 1786 to acknowledge and explain the wide departure of the plan contained in it from the plan set forth in the memoir that its author is alleged to have submitted to the same sovereign and the same chief minister less than three years previously?

Finally, even if it be admitted for the sake of argument that Aranda was the author of the secret memoir, it is almost inconceivable that he would have had the temerity to submit it to Charles III. The memoir grossly misrepresented Aranda's attitude toward the war of the American revolution, and that stupid lie would not have deceived the king for a moment

and would only have destroyed his confidence in its bungling perpetrator. The memoir proposed in effect that Charles abdicate his authority over his continental dominions in America virtually without compensation, and that fantastic proposal could only have ruined its sponsor. The reign of Charles III had been chiefly distinguished by the extension and apparent consolidation of his American dominions, and the treaty of peace just signed in September, 1783, had been hailed at Madrid as the most favorable treaty that Spain had made for more than a century past. Was this the time for proposing to Charles that he surrender his American empire? To be sure, Aranda—who seems to have been influenced by the belief, then widespread in France, that all colonies, like ripe fruit, would sooner or later drop from the parent stem—thought that Spain would some day lose its American dominions; but he did not for that reason think that it ought to throw them away. And even if he had thought so, he possessed too much common sense and love of power to propose such a thing to Charles III.

II

If the secret memoir is spurious, as the foregoing considerations indicate, who was the author and what were the circumstances of the fabrication? It is Dr. Konetzke's conjecture that the memoir was fabricated by Godoy (presumably in 1794) for the purpose of ruining its alleged author, Aranda. This conjecture is at least plausible, for the memoir could easily have been made to serve that purpose; no one had a stronger motive or a better opportunity for forging the memoir than did Godoy; he was not the kind of man to balk at using such a device to ruin so dangerous an enemy as Aranda; and the memoir was most probably fabricated in 1794, the year of Aranda's disgrace, since no one had as much to gain by it after his disgrace as before it, and since, if the memoir had been fabricated and used before 1794, Aranda would probably have been disgraced before 1794. Of course, it is

possible that the memoir was forged at a considerably later time—say, between 1815 and 1823, when France was hoping to gain commercial advantages from the turmoil in Spanish America; but this is less likely.

Though plausible, Konetzke's conjecture, which is based on a curious passage in Godoy's own *Memoirs*,¹⁸ is rather barely stated and does not fix the precise date and circumstances of the forgery. The present writer wishes to call attention to a fact which may perhaps supply this deficiency and will, he believes, clarify the hitherto confused story of the climax of the struggle between Aranda and Godoy. That climax occurred in a stormy session of the Spanish Council of State on March 14, 1794; and almost immediately after the adjournment of the council, the struggle was brought to a close by the arrest and banishment of Aranda. Previous accounts of this episode contradict each other on several points; but, as far as the present writer has been able to ascertain, they all agree on one point, namely, that the king's decision against Aranda and in favor of Godoy was taken while the council was still in session.¹⁹ This conclusion is not sustained by the minutes of that meeting,²⁰ which give us the best and

¹⁸ Cited above, note 10.

¹⁹ See for example Ballesteros, V, 257; Konetzke, p. 196; the article on Aranda ("Abarca de Bolea, Pedro Pablo") in the *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada* (70 vols., Barcelona, 1914-1930); and Godoy, Lafuente, and Muriel, as cited in the following note.

²⁰ The original minutes are contained in the "Actas del Supremo Consejo de Estado," cited below, note 21, and they are printed in Andrés Muriel, *Historia de Carlos IV* (6 vols., published as vols. 29-34 of the *Memorial Histórico Nacional* of the Royal Academy of History, Madrid, 1893-1894), II, 235-236, note. So far as I am aware, no previous writer has called attention to the fact that the result of this meeting of the council of state was more favorable to Aranda than to Godoy; but the account that I have given is based on the official report of that meeting (the minutes cited above, in this note). Even Lafuente (XXI, 436-438, note 1), who made a careful comparison of the conflicting accounts of that meeting given by Godoy (*Memoirs*, English translation, London, 1836, I, 272-338) and Muriel (*Historia de Carlos IV*, II, 204-217), came to the erroneous conclusion that Aranda's views were condemned and he himself was sternly rebuked by the king while the council was still in session. Lafuente's error is probably owing to the fact that he apparently overlooked the official minutes

the only authoritative account of what happened in it. According to this presumably reliable account, if either of the contestants could have claimed a victory at the end of that encounter, it was not Godoy but Aranda.

Briefly, what happened was this: On March 4, Aranda submitted to the council a memorandum attacking Godoy's policy of war with France and alliance with Great Britain; but since Aranda himself was unable to attend, the reading of the memorandum was postponed until March 14.²¹ Then, the minutes for the latter date tell us, it provoked so violent an altercation between Godoy and Aranda that the king himself had to intervene to restore order; and after some further discussion of a rather desultory character, the king again postponed consideration of the matter, commanded Aranda and Godoy to forget their differences, and adjourned the meeting.

That is all that the official report tells us about this momentous meeting. Surely, if the king had upheld his own chief minister, Godoy, against the scathing criticisms of Aranda, the leader of the opposition, the fact would have been recorded in the minutes; but they contain not one word to that effect. What they do show is that the king closed the meeting with an admonition to Godoy to forget his differences with the man who had just taken the hide off him in the presence of the whole council. That was hardly a victory for Godoy; and since Aranda was not a lone critic but the leader of an increasingly formidable opposition whose protests had just been heard without rebuke by the king, the moment was at hand when Godoy must ruin Aranda or be ruined by him.

of the meeting, which Muriel inserted, not in his main discussion of the meeting but in a subsequent passage (*op. et loc. cit.*, pp. 235-236). Though Muriel's *Historia de Carlos IV* was not published until 1893-1894, long after the publication of Lafuente's book, the latter was able to consult the manuscript of it, which was probably completed by 1838 and was preserved in the library of the Royal Academy of History at Madrid. Muriel had already published a somewhat similar account of the meeting in his translation of Coxe.

²¹ Archivo Histórico Nacional, Sección de Estado, "Actas del Supremo Consejo de Estado" (bound volume, MS.), minutes of the meeting of March 4, 1794.

In Bourbon Spain, as in Bourbon France and Stuart England, a fallen minister was usually a disgraced minister.

Our conjecture, amplifying Konetzke's, is that this was the situation which led Godoy to use the forged memoir in order to ruin Aranda. If so, it is likely that Godoy had already forged the memoir or had it forged, after reading Aranda's memorandum of March 4 (which was at his disposal from the latter date until March 14), but had held it in reserve in the hope that he might repel Aranda's attack by more legitimate and less hazardous means, that is to say, by meeting argument with argument in the session of March 14; and that when this resort failed him and the council adjourned without giving him the slightest vindication against his formidable enemy, he produced the forged memoir, showed it to the king—and to the king alone—in strictest confidence, and thus brought about his rival's disgrace and banishment. The secret memoir certainly seems to have been designed to discredit Aranda. It would have lent support to the charge, which Godoy was then making and which he repeated in the passage in his *Memoirs* cited by Konetzke, that Aranda was too friendly to France to be loyal to Spain; and it would have been particularly offensive to the king since it seemed to show that if Aranda had had his way with Charles III in 1783, Charles IV would now, in 1794, be exercising the merest shadow of authority over continental Spanish America, which was still the proudest possession of the Spanish monarchy. Moreover, since the memoir does reproduce with substantial fidelity Aranda's opinions on two or three subjects (*e.g.*, the destiny of the United States and the importance of Cuba and Puerto Rico to Spain) and since it was probably well known at court that Aranda had once proposed some sort of plan for the reorganization of the empire, Charles IV might easily have been persuaded that the memoir was genuine.

This conjecture may seem fanciful and the present writer would certainly not stake his reputation that it is correct. Nevertheless, it is at least a plausible reconstruction of the

forgery of a document that is almost certainly spurious. It not only fits the known facts better than any other possible reconstruction that has occurred to the present writer, but it also enables us to understand, first, why the Spanish archives contain a "copy" of the alleged memoir, of which no one has ever seen the original, and second, why, although Aranda emerged from the stormy council session of March 14 with considerable credit, the king reversed his stand almost immediately after the adjournment and ordered Aranda's arrest and banishment without giving him a chance to defend himself.²²

If our conjecture is correct, circumstances made it easy for Godoy to keep his secret. By concealing the existence of the memoir from the council, he greatly diminished the danger of detection; for Charles IV, to whom alone he showed it, was not distinguished for mental alertness. Aranda, though released from arrest toward the end of 1795, was never permitted to return to court. Godoy retained his ascendancy there without serious interruption until the eve of the expulsion of the Bourbons by Napoleon in 1808; and it is not surprising that in the ensuing confusion of the civil war and the Bourbon restoration another score of years elapsed before the memoir was at last made public property. By this time, Aranda had been dead nearly thirty years; and there was no one else who had the information, or the patience to gather the information, necessary to expose the forgery.

III

Indeed, although the evidence against the authenticity of the memoir now seems almost if not quite conclusive, we can easily understand why it soon gained and has continued to hold the confidence of most historians. Though Muriel, who first published it, did not claim to have seen the original manuscript, he has always been generally regarded as a fairly

²² For a petition by Aranda complaining of the injustice of the proceedings against him, see Muriel, *Historia de Carlos IV*, II, 222. Aranda died in 1798 on one of his estates in Aragon.

reliable historian. More than a quarter of a century then elapsed before the first attack on it was made by Ferrer del Río; and although his reasoning is cogent, various circumstances deprived it of its full effect. In the first place, it had to contend against the inertia of established faith in the memoir; in the second place, it was soon vigorously rebutted by his fellow-countryman, Lafuente, whose word carried as much weight in Spain as that of Ferrer del Río and whose rebuttal was published in a work addressed to a much wider audience than was his critic's; and finally, Ferrer del Río's attack on the memoir passed almost unnoticed abroad, at any rate in England and the United States.²³ Then, toward the end of the nineteenth century, additional proof of the authenticity of the memoir seemed to be furnished by another reputable Spanish historian, Manuel Danvila y Collado, of whom we shall have more to say below. The student who glances only cursorily at the literature of this controversy might well be impressed by the apparent preponderance of evidence and authority on the side of the memoir.

It is not quite so easy to understand why historians such as Muriel, Lafuente, and Danvila, who presumably examined the evidence with great care, were taken in by the forgery. The following considerations may perhaps throw some light on the question. To begin with Muriel's case, a possible explanation is suggested by the passage in Godoy's *Memoirs*, quoted above, in which he charged that several of the documents supplied by the Duke of San Fernando and published by Muriel were forgeries and broadly hinted that the Spanish court had induced Muriel, either through bribery or the promise of favors, to publish these documents.

²³ Baumgarten (cited above, note 4) mentioned the attack in 1865; but a cursory examination of the files of the *Edinburgh Review*, the London *Quarterly Review*, and the *North American Review* has failed to reveal any contemporary notice either of Ferrer del Río's book or of his article. The silence of the last-named journal is rather surprising, both because the problem of the authenticity of the memoir has a special interest for historians of the United States and also because one of the leading American historians of that generation, W. H. Trescott (see the bibliographical note, below), had very recently published a book in which he commented on a puzzling passage in the memoir.

The present writer believes that Muriel's reasons for publishing the memoir as an authentic document were, first, that perhaps he saw no reason for questioning its authenticity, and second, that he probably expected to please the Spanish government and so further his own interests by publishing it. He had good reason for believing that this would please the Spanish court. As the reader will recall, Spain had recently suffered the loss of all of its American possessions except Cuba and Puerto Rico. Was it not, then, some consolation for the Spaniards of those trying times to learn that, long before the disintegration of the Spanish empire began, so illustrious a statesman as Aranda had regarded the continental colonies—which, by this time, Spain had lost—as practically worthless, and had advised the king to divest himself of them, keeping only the Spanish West Indies²⁴—which alone Spain still retained? Was the authenticity of so comforting a document, and one so useful to the government that had lost the continental colonies, likely to be questioned by any good Spaniard of that generation? At any rate, if we are to believe Godoy, none was less likely to question it than the refugee Muriel.

It is easy to understand Muriel's unquestioning acceptance of the memoir, though the probable reasons for it have little or no weight with us. Some of the documents provided by the Duke of San Fernando are said to have been obtained by him from a person whom Muriel calls "el sabio Martín de Navarrete", by whom he doubtless meant the historian Martín Fernández de Navarrete; and it would have been only natural for him to regard as authentic the documents that he received through such presumably reliable intermediaries as a former minister of the king (San Fernando) and a distinguished historian (Navarrete). His faith in one of these documents, the secret memoir, might well have been fortified by his admiration for Aranda. One of the most striking passages in the memoir is the one prophesying the disintegration of the Spanish em-

²⁴ Muriel's translation of Coxe (cited above, note 2), VI, 50. The memoir did suggest that some other possession, presumably an island, should be retained in the southern hemisphere, but did not specify which one.

pire and the expansion of the United States, and by 1827 this prophecy had been in large measure fulfilled; so that if the memoir was genuine, it merely proved that Aranda, whom Muriel already regarded as a talented statesman, was also remarkably farsighted.

The case of Lafuente seems somewhat simpler than that of Muriel; and it is even more important, since no other historian has taken greater pains to refute Ferrer del Río's arguments against the memoir. Apparently without inquiring into the authenticity of the memoir, Lafuente not only treated it as an authentic document, but also gave it considerable prominence in the *Discurso Preliminar* of his ambitious *Historia General de España*.²⁵ When, five years after the publication of this part of his work, Ferrer del Río made a slashing attack on the memoir, Lafuente could not endure to confess—perhaps even to believe—that he had been taken in by a hoax. It is quite likely, too, that his judgment was obscured by a collateral issue which in reality has no bearing on the authenticity of the memoir, namely, the question whether there was any causal connection between the American Revolution and the subsequent independence movement in Spanish America. The result of his reconsideration of the question does his critical acumen little credit since—save for one point which is not of material importance for our problem²⁶—he did not attain even his limited objective of refuting Ferrer del Río; and far from undertaking to prove what he had lightly assumed only five years previous to the publication of Ferrer del Río's

²⁵ Lafuente, I, 206. The first volume of the edition cited in these notes (see above, note 12) was published in 1850. As stated above, note 4, Ferrer del Río's attacks on the Aranda memoir were published in 1855 (the article) and 1856 (the book). Lafuente's volume, containing his reply to Ferrer del Río, was published in 1858 (vol. XXI, 163-174). Here Lafuente cites (p. 163) Ferrer del Río's book of 1856, in which the argument against the authenticity of the memoir is recapitulated briefly, but not the article of 1855, in which the argument is developed at greater length and more convincingly.

²⁶ Ferrer del Río, "El Conde de Aranda," *loc. cit.*, p. 580, implies that Aranda did not really regard the United States as a menace to Spanish America; but Lafuente, XXI, 170, 171, convicted him of error on this point. It was his only triumph in their tilt.

attack, he now declared that he could not answer for the authenticity of the memoir.²⁷ Yet neither could he bring himself to admit that it was spurious.

While various reasons might be given for Danvila's unquestioning acceptance of the memoir, in one respect, at least, his case resembles Muriel's, for he too obtained it in manuscript form from a Spanish politician at a time when Spanish America was a burning issue in Spanish politics. From a manuscript preserved in the private library of Antonio Cánovas del Castillo, who was his political chief as well as the editor of the series for which his book was written, Danvila published a summary of the memoir; but he did not seem to be aware either that its authenticity had been questioned or that it had been published in its entirety many years before.²⁸ It is therefore reasonable to assume that Cánovas was largely responsible for this reassertion of the authenticity of the memoir, and it is interesting to observe how closely the opinions expressed in it resemble those which this statesman-historian, this Spanish Guizot, was then championing in public life.

In the first place, the memoir urged Spain to retain Cuba, and Cánovas was not only one of the most ardent champions of the retention of Cuba but also one of the most uncompromising opponents of any concession to the Cuban malcontents that might diminish Spain's authority over the island.²⁹ These

²⁷ Lafuente, XXI, 170, wrote: ". . . nosotros, sin pretensión de fallar sobre la autenticidad del documento y responder de ella, la tenemos por muy posible . . ." etc.

²⁸ Danvila's book, *Reinado de Carlos III* (6 vols., Madrid, 1893-1894), formed part of the *Historia General de España* edited by Cánovas, of which seventeen volumes were published but which was never completed. The Cánovas manuscript of the secret memoir is summarized in Danvila, V, 468-471.

²⁹ Cánovas had to deal with the Cuban question time and again throughout the last quarter of the nineteenth century. He was at the head of the government that was forced by dire necessity to agree to the treaty of Zanjón (1878) at the end of the Cuban rebellion known as the Ten Years' War. This treaty promised reforms in the administration of Cuba, but Cánovas did nothing to fulfil the promise, though he was the most influential member of the Spanish government for several years after the treaty was signed. And when the liberal

questions were soon to become far more pressing than they were in 1893, when Danvila's book was published; but even then they were important. In the second place, the memoir supported the general position that Cánovas had taken in regard to colonial expansion, for while he urged the retention of Cuba and Puerto Rico he was emphatic in his opposition to proposals that Spain should enter the race for colonial dominion in which the great powers of Europe were then engaging. His realistic analysis of modern imperialism, which is contained in an address delivered in 1883,³⁰ possesses considerable interest for students of that subject; and it may be remarked in passing that the earliest and most perspicuous critiques of dominant tendencies in Europe are often offered by the smaller and weaker nations lying outside the main current of its development. Dismissing as futile all efforts to find a moral sanction for the new imperialism, Cánovas declared that it was simply the result of the accumulation of surplus capital in the more highly industrialized countries, and he prophesied that competition among the great powers for colonial dominion would inevitably lead to a death struggle among the competitors. Spain he said, was utterly unfitted to enter this competition, since it had neither the industrial and financial equipment necessary to sustain it nor the

leader, Antonio Maura, proposed his famous reforms in 1893, Cánovas opposed him strenuously. In 1896, Cánovas gave the correspondent of the Paris *Journal* a sensational interview on the Cuban question, in the course of which he said: "Pas assez de liberté! . . . Mais les Cubains avaient plutôt trop de liberté . . . Si l'armée espagnole abandonnait Cuba, ce seraient les idées sages, fécondes, libérales, progressistes de l'Europe qui abandonneraient ce pays qui a été le plus riche, le plus prospère de l'Amérique espagnole" (Gaston Routier, *L'Espagne en 1897*, Paris, 1897, pp. 157, 160; italics inserted. Routier was the correspondent in question.) Cánovas also declared that Spain would defend its authority over Cuba "to the last drop of blood and the last peseta" (article on Cánovas in the *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*).

³⁰ Antonio Cánovas del Castillo, *Obras: Problemas contemporáneas* (3 vols., Madrid, 1884-1890), II, 451-474, address delivered at the Geographical Congress, Madrid, November 12, 1883. "Desconfiad, en suma", he said, "de expansiones excesivas, y muy principalmente de conquistas coloniales que os hayan de costar mas de lo que valen en sí . . ." (p. 470).

military power to wage the war that was certain to grow out of it. He therefore concluded that Spain should devote all its energies to developing its own internal resources and should be content with the colonial possessions that it already held—Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines.

That was substantially what the pseudo-Aranda memoir advised. Confining itself to America, it declared that Spain should keep Cuba and Puerto Rico, but nothing more. Those colonies alone, it asserted,

if well administered and put in a good state of defense, would suffice for our commerce, and we should not need other possessions. We should enjoy all the advantages that the possession of America gives us, without any of the inconveniences [that it entails].³¹

Here, then, was valuable support for Cánovas's position on two of the most important public questions of the day—for his argument that Spain should abjure colonial imperialism in general, but should at all costs maintain unimpaired its sovereignty over Cuba and Puerto Rico.

When Danvila reaffirmed the authenticity of the secret memoir, as when Muriel first asserted it, the publication of the document accorded with certain substantial personal interests as well as with reasons of state. Both of these writers—and Lafuente and Cánovas, too—were in all probability innocent of any intent to deceive; it was merely that circumstances predisposed them to an uncritical acceptance of the fabricated document as a genuine expression of Aranda's views.

IV

Though some parts of the foregoing story of the secret memoir are based upon conjecture, the present writer believes that, even after we make due allowance for the conjectural element, it justifies the following conclusions: (1) that the memoir is in all probability a forgery; (2) that if it is a forgery, it was most probably forged by Manuel de Godoy in 1794 for the purpose of ruining its alleged author, the Conde de

³¹ Muriel's translation of Coxe, VI, 53.

Aranda; and (3) that the widespread acceptance which the memoir has enjoyed among historians is explained by the bias or self-interest of four of them (Muriel, Lafuente, Danvila, and Cánovas) and the inattention of others. The last of these conclusions probably possesses the greatest general interest because of its bearing on the question of how history gets written. It reminds us that no matter how honest and competent the historian may be, there is always the danger that his eyesight as well as his insight may fail him and that he may see and report things that simply do not exist for other historians of equal honesty and competence. It also reminds us that error crushed to earth will rise again.

For our immediate purpose, the most important of our conclusions is, of course, that the memoir is almost certainly spurious. Far from leaving historians in ignorance of Aranda's opinions on the subjects discussed in the memoir, this conclusion removes just so much rubbish and enables us for the first time to gain a clear view of his opinions regarding the American Revolution, the probable destiny of the United States, and the imperial problems of reorganization and defense in Spanish America. The only important part of the memoir that he might have endorsed is the passage containing the oft-quoted prophecy that the United States, though born a pygmy, would some day become the colossus of America and a formidable menace to Spain's possessions there. According to Konetzke, there is some distortion even in this passage, for Aranda did not believe the danger was so imminent as the memoir said it was; and the letter to Floridablanca of 1786, summarized above, shows that he then apprehended the most immediate danger not from the United States but from the "powers of Europe" and not in the Spanish borderlands of North America but on the western coast of South America.

From the evidence now available, it appears virtually certain that the secret memoir greatly misrepresents Aranda's opinions regarding one of the most important problems that

faced the rulers of the Spanish empire between the end of the American Revolution and the beginning of the Spanish American wars for independence. That problem was the policy that Spain ought to adopt in view of the establishment of an independent and liberal republic on the northern frontiers of its own American dominions. For some time before 1783, the Bourbon renaissance in Spain had led to reforms in the colonial administration which, in some respects, parallel rather closely the colonial reforms instituted by Great Britain in the same period. In the British American colonies these reforms were followed by rebellion and the establishment of the independence of the United States. Did Spain profit by this "lesson" of the American Revolution any more quickly than did Great Britain itself? And did Spain realize that the United States—whether by setting the example of successful rebellion, or by disseminating subversive ideas, or by joining some other power in a war of conquest—might threaten the very existence of the Spanish empire in America? If so, how did Spain plan to forestall the danger? Though various historians have brought to light a great deal of information bearing on these questions, they can not be answered definitively until we know what Aranda, as well as other leading Spanish statesmen of his day, thought about them.

An illustration of the way in which belief in the authenticity of the secret memoir has blinded historians to Aranda's true views about these questions was recently provided in a book by the Mexican historian, Alfonso Teja Zabre.³² Discussing that "famous document which has been described as prophetic and clever and is known as the report [i.e., the secret memoir] of the Conde de Aranda", Teja Zabre says:

In reality, that report sets forth facts that were so notorious, that even in his own time only fanatics and ignorant persons could refuse to acknowledge them. And the remedies proposed are nothing more than political expedients, later on tried without success. Like the

³² *Guide to the History of Mexico: A Modern Interpretation* (Mexico, 1935), pp. 228, 229.

Visitador Galvez, the author of the famous report did not glimpse the problem of Spain and of its colonies except superficially and from the political angle.

Teja Zabre then quotes the warnings and recommendations contained in the memoir and concludes, "But this was not really the crux of the problem." From the context, it appears that he believes that the crux of the problem was the injustice of the régime maintained by Spain in America and that he regards the views of the author of the memoir as superficial because they contemplated merely a political reorganization at the top which would have left that régime unaltered as it affected the mass of the people in Spanish America.

Since it is highly probable that Aranda was not the author of the secret memoir, we might dismiss these strictures on him without more ado; but we can not resist the temptation to quote a passage from an authentic letter in which Aranda expresses views about "the problem of Spain and of its colonies" which Teja Zabre himself would doubtless applaud. The letter in question is the one dated March 12, 1786, and addressed to Floridablanca,³³ which we have already had occasion to mention. Aranda wrote:

Ya sabe V. E. como pienso sobre nuestra América. Si nos aborrecen, no me admira segun los hemos tratado, si no la bondad de los soberanos, las sanguijuelas que han ido sin número . . . *y no entiendo que haya otro medio de retardar el estampido que el de tratar mejor á los de allá y á los que vinieren acá.*³⁴

He went on to urge that Spain should send better officials to America and reform the administrative system, and concluded with the proposal, which we have already discussed, that Peru should be exchanged for Portugal.

To be sure, these proposals, as well as those contained in the secret memoir, might be called mere "political expedients"; but, in view of Aranda's training and career and of the intellectual climate in which he lived at Paris, it would

³³ Lafuente, XXI, 171, 172.

³⁴ Italics inserted.

be surprising if he had not proposed a political solution for what he conceived to be a political problem. To think of the problems of statecraft as essentially political was the common infirmity of his generation, and we must admit that he shared it; but we are justified in denying that his political views about the problem of America were superficial. He thought that the Spanish empire was doomed, but he also thought that the "crash", the *estampido*, could be postponed; and in order to postpone it, he proposed, first, an advantageous territorial exchange that would protect Spanish America against the long-familiar menace of conquest by Spain's European rivals, and, second, a thoroughgoing reform of the personnel and the administrative system in the colonies which, by ridding them of the "countless [Spanish] leeches" and allaying colonial discontent, might immunize them against the newer menace of the revolutionary spirit represented by the United States. The views on which these proposals were based were not superficial; on the contrary, they were, politically speaking and in the proper sense of the word, radical.

The present account of Aranda's views is based mainly upon the fragmentary portions of his correspondence that have been published, though the writer has had occasion to read many of his unpublished letters preserved in the Spanish archives at Simancas and Madrid. It is to be hoped that someone will make a careful study of the whole mass of his correspondence so that we may know more fully and more precisely what he thought about the problem of Spanish America in the age of revolution and how his views took shape and developed in that tumultuous score of years from the outbreak of the American Revolution to his fall from power five years after the meeting of the Estates General at Versailles.⁵⁵ Whatever other results such a study may pro-

⁵⁵ Unfortunately, only fragments of Aranda's voluminous correspondence (preserved principally at Simancas and Madrid) have been published; but, for the period of the American Revolution, a good many of his despatches, as well as the despatches of others stating his views, can be consulted in Yela Utrilla (cited above, note 15) and Doniol. For the letter containing his project of

duce, it is not likely to alter the conclusion, which is sustained by the evidence now available, that Aranda was not the author of the secret memoir of 1783 and that he would have repudiated most of the important statements of fact and opinion contained in it.

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

I. *Manuscript and printed copies of the secret memoir*

A. Manuscript copies: I have found references to four of these, two of which are still preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid and are described in Julián Paz, *Catálogo de Manuscritos de América existentes en la Biblioteca Nacional* (Madrid, 1933), pp. 122 and 163. The two other copies are those mentioned above in the text of this article, one of which was obtained by Muriel from the Duke of San Fernando, the other by Danvila y Collado from Cánovas del Castillo. Whether the two latter copies are still extant and whether they are the two copies now preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional, I cannot say. The first of the copies listed by Julián Paz is described as belonging to the group of "Papeles relativos a las provincias de Ultramar colecciónados por D. Eugenio Alonso y Sanjurjo" and as bearing the title "Memoria secreta presentada al Rey de España por el Conde de Aranda, sobre la independencia de las colonias inglesas después del Tratado de París de 1783". The other, which bears a slightly different title ("de haber firmado" is inserted after "después"), is described as a copy. The latter is apparently the copy consulted by Dr. Konetzke (see below), who denounces the memoir as a fabrication, and listed in B. Sánchez Alonso, *Fuentes de la historia española e hispanoamericana* (second ed., Madrid, 1927), p. 609, entry no. 8476.

B. Printed copies: As stated above in this article, the text of the memoir almost universally cited is the French translation published by Muriel. It has also been published (1) in Spanish in Jacinto de Salas y Quiroga's Spanish translation of Muriel, *España bajo el reinado de la casa de Borbón* (4 vols., Madrid, 1847), IV, 433-439, and (2) in German in Konetzke (cited above, note 4), appendix.

II. *Additional notes on the literature of the subject*

Mancini (cited above, note 13), p. 73, says that the plan of imperial reorganization contained in the secret memoir was suggested by Abbé Raynal, *Histoire des Indes* (Geneva, 1780), IV, 294. According to other writers, the 1786, see above, note 12. The best account of his political ideas is contained in Konetzke's monograph, which is cited above, note 5, and frequently mentioned in the present article. After the end of the present civil war in Spain, I hope to obtain copies of the two manuscript copies of the secret memoir preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid (see the bibliographical note below) and to publish one or both of them in this REVIEW.

essence of the plan had been anticipated much earlier than this: by Padre Motolinia in 1540 (José Fernando Ramírez, "Noticias de la vida y escritos de . . . Motolinia", in Joaquín García Icazbalceta, *Colección de documentos para la historia de México* (2 vols., Mexico, 1858-1866), I, cxvii-cxviii; and by Vauban in the reign of Philip V of Spain (Carlos A. Villanueva, *Historia y diplomacia: Napoleón y la independencia de la América*, Paris, 1911, p. 33). For the latter item I am indebted to John Rydjord, *Foreign Interest in the Independence of New Spain* (Durham, N. C., 1935), p. 95, note 4.

It was apparently in Mexico about the period of the war of 1846 with the United States that the secret memoir first attracted widespread attention. In 1846, it was published in the Mexican periodical *El Tiempo* (Lúcas Alamán, *Historia de Méjico*—5 vols., Mexico, 1849-1852—I, 126-127. About the same time it appeared in *El Indicador*, presumably the Vera Cruz periodical of that name (Bancroft—cited above, note 13—vol. III, 390, note 29). Within a few years after the close of the war it was given further publicity in the works of Ramírez and Alamán just cited. The reasons for its popularity in Mexico at that time are obvious.

In Europe and Spanish America, Lafuente (cited above, note 12), and in this country John Fiske, *The Critical Period* (Boston, 1889), p. 19, seem to have been mainly responsible for the widespread acceptance of the secret memoir as an authentic document. The following works, in addition to those cited above in this bibliographical note and in notes 2, 7, 11, 12, 13, 14, 28, and 32 above treat the secret memoir as an authentic document: Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America* (8 vols., Boston, 1884-1889), VII, 152, note 1; *Cambridge Modern History* (14 vols., New York, 1907-1912), XII, 691; Emil Kimpfen, *Die Ausbreitungspolitik der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika* (Berlin, 1923), p. 25; Gustavo Otero Muñoz, "La independencia de la América española y los proyectos monárquicos de Aranda y de Godoy", *Boletín de Historia y Antigüedades* (Bogotá), XV (1926), 534-538; John Carl Parish, "The Emergence of the Idea of Manifest Destiny" (Berkeley, 1932; Faculty Research Lecture at the University of California at Los Angeles), p. 14; Charles Edward Chapman, *Colonial Hispanic America* (New York, 1933), pp. 202-203; Pío Zabala y Lera, *España bajo los Borbones* (3d ed., Barcelona, n.d. [1936]), p. 98. Many other titles might be added to this list, but it is representative. So far as I have been able to discover, the first published comment on any of the discrepancies in the memoir was made by William H. Trescott, *The Diplomacy of the American Revolution* (New York, 1852), pp. 70-71; but he did not deny its authenticity.

THE FARQUHAR SYNDICATE IN SOUTH AMERICA

"Your readers will scarcely realize now the grave issues of this operation but the next generation of Englishmen in South America will have cause to remember May 23, 1907."¹ In this pessimistic manner the correspondent of *The Times* in Rio de Janeiro acquainted the public with the fact that an American company promoter, Mr. Percival Farquhar, had leased the Sorocabana Railway Company. Patriotically disapproving the leasing as "a very humiliating chapter in the history of British enterprise in Brazil", he appreciated fully the significance of American financial penetration in this region. For the economic historian there are few more interesting chapters in the history of the migration of capital to South America than the brief but spectacular career of the Farquhar Syndicate in the decade preceding the World War. It marked the introduction of American railway finance methods in Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay. It gave impetus to the movement for state ownership of railways and hastened the enactment of anti-trust legislation. It occasioned a rare outbreak of fear of American territorial expansion in Brazil and added to the continent's growing anxiety over Yankee imperialism. It furnished interesting evidence on the nature of British trade and the competitive position of British industry in the prewar period.

Percival Farquhar was not an engineer or a railway operating expert. Until he went to Brazil he had met with inconsiderable success in his ventures in New York politics, state militia, and corporate finance. As late as 1910, when a syndicate of which he was a member failed in an ambitious project to form a trans-continental railway system in the United States, the *Wall Street Journal* was moved to marvel

¹ *The Times* (London), July 8, 1907.

at his reported success in Brazil and to conclude that his pleasing personality, suavity, and gentle disposition that contrasted so sharply with the characteristic American hustling and bustling must have been especially effective in Hispanic America.² Farquhar had something more, however. He had the successful promoter's aptitude for conceiving vast developmental schemes and finding an economic basis that would attract capital to them.

In Brazil he found that the southern states lacked direct communication with each other except through the ports on the Atlantic. The railways had been built for limited local purposes, interstate connections had been neglected, and management was not coördinated. With the object of consolidating these lines into one comprehensive system and eventually joining with the Uruguayan and Argentine railways to form through international connections, the Brazil Railway Company was incorporated under the laws of the State of Maine on November 12, 1906. It was a truly international enterprise with American registration, Canadian associate promoters, Brazilian properties, financing in the London market, and funds largely furnished by French and Belgian investors. Although it worked certain railways directly, it was essentially a holding company owning controlling interests in the securities of operating companies. Prospects of larger returns from normal business through freer interchange of traffic, economies of coördinated management, and better utilization of standardized materials and rolling stock provided the immediate attraction for investors. To this end control was obtained of the São Paulo-Rio Grande Railway, the Sorocabana Railway, and the Compagnie Auxiliaire de Chemins de Fer au Bresil, and large interests were purchased in the Paulista and Mogyana lines. By October, 1910, the extensions of the São Paulo-Rio Grande from the north and the Compagnie Auxiliaire from the south had reached the Uru-

² See *Wall Street Journal*, August 2, 1910; and *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, July 30, 1910, p. 239.

guay River and a branch of the Compagnie Auxiliaire had reached the Uruguayan frontier at Santa Anna do Livramento. With the construction of a bridge over the Uruguay River, the southern states of Brazil were provided with a through route of 1833 miles which furnished complete local connections as well as connections with Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Montevideo. Over two-thirds of this network was controlled by the Brazil Railway Company. Some of the lines had been built too lightly and were unsuited for heavy traffic.⁸ Faults of construction were repaired, bridges strengthened, numerous winding curves cut off, and new equipment ordered. The managers of the Paulista and Mogyana Railways were induced to effect a working arrangement which eliminated much unnecessary competition.

The one great check to effective and complete consolidation was the inability to acquire an outlet to Santos. The São Paulo Railway occupied a peculiarly strategic position for the coffee traffic. It ran from the port of Santos to the city of São Paulo and thence to Jundiah. At São Paulo, it joined the Sorocabana system, at Jundiah, it joined the Paulista; and at Campinas, it tapped the Mogyana by reason of the Mogyana-Paulista junction at that point. The syndicate approached the São Paulo Railway with an offer to buy in the latter part of 1910 but the offer was rejected. Thus, in spite of the fact that its lines furnished most of the traffic for the São Paulo Railway, the syndicate was unable to purchase an outlet to the seaboard and was discouraged from building a competing line by the legal obstacle in the form of the São Paulo's non-competitive protected zone provided in its concession, and by the high cost involved in the engineering difficulties.

Far more prominent in the promoters' minds, however, was the possibility of creating new traffic by developing the vast resources of the region. Rates had formerly been so

⁸ The Sorocabana Railway until Farquhar acquired it was a by-word in São Paulo for everything that was bad in railway construction and management.

high as to discourage traffic. Now, through a revision of contracts that reduced payments to the government, rates were adjusted downward. The Compagnie Auxiliaire, for instance, was reported in 1913 to have lowered freight rates by 15 per cent and yet increased its gross revenue by attracting more traffic.⁴ Knowing that the River Plate countries lacked construction timber and that even Brazil was on an import basis, the syndicate decided to modernize the existing primitive methods used in the cutting and marketing of lumber.⁵ About 6,000,000 acres of land, largely wooded, had been acquired with the concession of the São Paulo-Rio Grande Railway and an additional 560,000 acres were purchased. Two American experts, Hiram C. Smith and John McComb, reported favorably on the timber, the Southern Brazil Lumber Company was organized, and by 1913 when connection was made with the Brazil Railway it was planned to ship 70,000,000 cubic feet annually. Experiments were made at Tres Barras to solve certain technical problems of which a leading one concerned the drying of Paraná pine. The old process of drying in the open air was considered too long and costly and yielded an imperfect product; the company developed a method of kiln-drying. But the lumber business proved disappointing; the company's prices were higher than those of the smaller saw-mills and purchasers were unwilling to abandon old sources of supply.

With a vision of a cattle trade that would rival Argentina's, the syndicate acquired 7,000,000 acres of grazing land and 200,000 cattle, imported blooded stock from Texas for the improvement of breed, and sent men to the United States to study advanced livestock practices. A substantial interest was obtained in a modern packing house constructed by the American firm of Sulzberger and Sons in order to assure a market for the company's livestock operations. The tremendous progress made by the Brazilian meat industry during the war

⁴ *The Times* (London), April 30, 1913.

⁵ Domestic demand was increasing rapidly. In the city of São Paulo alone construction was proceeding at the rate of six thousand houses annually.

justified to a large extent the faith of the promoters in southern Brazil's future as a livestock producer.

In the Amazon region control was obtained of the Madeira-Mamoré Railway and in the face of engineering difficulties, unhealthy climate, and labor scarcity that had caused an earlier unsuccessful American contractor to declare that "it would be easier to make a railway to the moon than to build this line", a railway 226 miles long was opened to traffic in September 1912 which connected the navigation of the Amazon and Madeira rivers below the Madeira Falls with the navigation in Bolivia above these falls. The unfortunate coincidence of the decline of the rubber industry that depressed the whole Amazon Valley upset the syndicate's calculations on this project. Rubber normally comprised about 40 per cent of the traffic in materials. Attempts were made by the company to develop the production of rubber by more intensive methods on its own plantations but nothing came of them. A concession was obtained to extend the Madeira Railway to Riberalta in Bolivia, a distance of 62 miles. Although the concession carried with it the right to purchase 9,260,000 acres of land at 1½ cents per acre for grazing land and 17 cents for rubber land, financial limitations caused the company to withdraw in 1913 from enterprises in Bolivia.

At the very base of all hopes of development, necessarily, was the need of a larger population. Agricultural colonies were staked out in the valleys along the Itararé-Rio Uruguay Line and the São Francisco-Rio Paraná Line, but the war came soon to disturb plans for directed immigration. A colony established on the Rio das Antas estate in Santa Catharina drew a few colonists from Rio Grande do Sul and there was some interstate migration to the colonies of Faxina, Carambehy, and Nova Galicia but the essential flow of people from Europe failed to materialize. By the end of 1912, when Sir Edgar Speyer stated that the program of railway expansion in Brazil was practically ended,^{*} *The Economist*, in an incom-

* *The Times* (London), November 12, 1912.

plete tabulation listed twenty-six important enterprises in which the Farquhar syndicate was interested.⁷ These included ports, railways, tramways, electricity, hotels, lumber, gas, and river navigation.⁸ The syndicate operated 3128 miles of railway and in addition had large holdings in lines totaling 1712 miles.

Meanwhile, public opinion in Brazil had been undergoing a rapid change. Welcomed at first as an agent for economic development, by 1912, congress and the press began to look at the seemingly unlimited expansion of the syndicate with unconcealed concern. While Farquhar protested against the misconception of his aims and cited the advantages to Brazil deriving from the £45,000,000 which he had caused to be invested,⁹ the press wondered if the liberal concessions did not signify corruptness in public administration. Alberto Torres told a congressional committee studying the matter of concessions to foreign companies that

the sudden expansion of foreign influence in the country combined with the notorious political, financial, and administrative disorganization, represents a state of extreme political debility demanding a real and radical remedy.¹⁰

Over 13,000,000 acres of land had been purchased by, or given to, the syndicate and there was fear of denationalization. Bearing in mind the disclosures of the trust-busting period in the United States, Brazilians feared that the trust problem might be even more serious in Brazil because there would be only one group there apparently on its way to a universal control that might menace the constituted authority.¹¹ Soon

⁷ *The Economist* (London), December 21, 1912, p. 1280. Mr. W. C. Forbes, receiver of the company in 1915, said that it had interests in 38 companies (*The Financial News*, London, May 21, 1915).

⁸ The original plan was to construct modern hotels in São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Guaruja to be managed by the Carlton Hotel group but actual operations were limited to small hotels in Guaruja and São Paulo.

⁹ An interview with Farquhar in *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), December 26, 1912.

¹⁰ Reported in *The South American Journal*, January 25, 1913, p. 153.

¹¹ See *Diario de Congresso Nacional*: November 24, 1912, pp. 3873-3875;

every request for a concession was being scrutinized suspiciously lest it be that of a dummy corporation acting for the syndicate.¹²

Nor was the uneasiness confined to Brazil, for the syndicate by this time was also operating in neighboring countries. In June, 1912, after several months of market activity in Argentine rails by an unidentified group, it became known that the Farquhar Syndicate was planning to enter Argentina.¹³ In northern Argentina, there were then several small lines lacking satisfactory terminal facilities in Buenos Aires while the Cordoba Central Group was providing inadequate traffic for its excellent terminal arrangements.¹⁴ From the active and fertile minds of the promoters came an extraordinarily ambitious plan for merging the lines. Of its soundness a prominent financier has said:

It was a considered plan and so well considered and thought to be so reasonable and to have such elements of success in it that, in a long experience in the City of London, I have never seen such influential support given to any scheme as that which was given to this.¹⁵

December 27, 1912, pp. 5072-5076; December 28, 1912, pp. 45-48 (suplemento ao N.202). Also, *Gazeta de Notícias* (Rio de Janeiro) and *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), December 25-31, 1912.

¹² On the other hand, many lauded the syndicate for its part in causing land values to rise. Some regarded Farquhar as a miracle man who would even find a way to save the rubber industry. See *The Brazilian Review*, June 11, 1911, p. 595.

¹³ *Review of the River Plate*, June 21, 1912, p. 1551. See also an interview with Farquhar in *The Daily Mail* (London), July 3, 1912.

¹⁴ It was pointed out also that operating agreement would prevent wasteful competition and duplication of facilities in a region that could not afford it while much of the area still lacked any facilities.

¹⁵ Statement of the chairman of the meeting of noteholders of the Argentine Railway Company (*The Times*, February 10, 1915). The syndicate that arranged the financing included Kleinwort, Sons & Co.; J. H. Schroeder & Co.; Kuhn, Loeb & Co.; Sir Ernest Cassel; Deutsche Bank; Raphael & Sons; Robert Fleming & Co.; Bonn & Co.; Stallaerts & Loewenstein; Speyer Brothers; Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas; Société Générale. The latter four were also the leading firms in the Brazil Railway Company syndicate.

The Argentine Railway Company was incorporated July 12, 1912; the first issue of £3,000,000 of preference shares was eagerly sought after and subscribed within a few hours. In drawing up the network, Farquhar approached the government with an offer to buy the state railways. Although the government roads were notorious for poor administration and inferior service and had failed to develop the region, no sale was effected. It was reported that Farquhar offered \$70,000,000 gold while the government set a price of \$100,000,000 with agreement to instal a uniform broad gauge on all lines.¹⁶ Nevertheless, the government indicated its approval of the concentration of control in the belief that it would lead to faster development and lower rates. The board of the Córdoba Central Railway was already at work on the details of a scheme for amalgamation with the Córdoba and Rosario Railway and the Buenos Ayres Extension Railway when Farquhar appeared. The Argentine Railway Company took over these three lines in the Córdoba Group and guaranteed sufficient traffic to yield a specified minimum profit annually; if the traffic was inadequate, the company undertook to make up the difference. On the other hand, for the Entre Ríos Railway, Argentine North East Railway, Rosario and Puerto Belgrano Railway, and other lines which Farquhar controlled he got a direct connection with Buenos Aires.

In Uruguay the syndicate encountered a novel situation. Batlle y Ordoñez in his drive for state ownership of industry found himself unable even to compel the British-owned railways to reduce rates because of the protective clauses in their concessions. Convinced that competition would force the railways to yield, he announced in the spring of 1912 a plan to build a system of light economical railways costing less than £3,000 per kilometer.¹⁷ Since the financing of such a project

¹⁶ *Review of the River Plate*, December 6, 1912, p. 1425. Another version of the negotiations has the difficulty of being the government's demand for cash at a time when the London market was not readily available.

¹⁷ Although the government claimed not to be hostile to the British railways the administration newspaper (*El Día*) almost daily in the spring of 1912 con-

was a delicate problem, he was delighted when the Farquhar Syndicate, frustrated in its attempt to buy up control of the British lines, appeared in Montevideo with an offer to construct and operate a network of state railways.¹⁸ An ad referendum contract was hastily signed on October 17, 1912, but approval by congress was delayed by the legislators' distrust of the all-embracing syndicate and by the appearance of competing offers from the Régie Générale de Chemins de Fer et Travaux Publics and from Messrs. Briske and Pohl. According to the contract, the syndicate agreed to construct and operate certain railways including a direct line from Montevideo to Artigas independent of existing lines and aimed to lower the running time from the Brazilian capital to Montevideo, and a line from Montevideo to Colonia, in which work the building of a port at Colonia was to be undertaken also; the Caprario Concession was transferred to the syndicate. The lines were to be built on a cost plus 10 per cent basis, with cost not to exceed £6,500 per kilometer. The syndicate guaranteed a 3 per cent return on the capital employed. Financial difficulties, in which the syndicate soon found itself, prevented it from providing this "protection" against the established British lines.

In backward Paraguay, the syndicate had worked quickly and on a vast scale. A large interest was obtained in the Paraguay Central Railway which was promptly pushed south to Encarnación and connected by train ferry with Posadas on the Argentine North East Railway.¹⁹ On October 12, 1913, the first international train covered the distance from Buenos Aires to Asunción in less than fifty hours as against the five days' journey by water. In August, 1912, the Compañía Industrial Paraguaya, largest owner of land (approximately

tained attacks on them. It was charged that they had failed to expand and provide "feeder" lines, etc. In *The Times* (London), May 20, 1914, the minister of public works was quoted as favoring state ownership because "foreign ownership of railways is suited only to primitive backward states".

¹⁸ The syndicate's Uruguay Railway Company purchased considerable blocks of shares in the British companies but were unable to obtain controlling interests.

¹⁹ Said to be the first train ferry in South America.

2,000,000 hectares) east of the Paraguay River, was acquired. Then a smaller property, totaling about 310,000 hectares, was purchased. Finally, the Carlos Casado property of over 2,500,000 hectares was added. On November 1, 1912, the *Review of the River Plate* estimated that the syndicate owned one-fifth of the Paraguayan Chaco.²⁰ A few years previously, several Argentine companies speculating in quebracho forests had bought large tracts of land in the Chaco. Since the majority of the ventures had proved failures, there was a great amount of land for sale in this region. In 1912, the syndicate crossed into still another country with the purchase of a large block of shares of the Antofogasta (Chile) and Bolivia Railway. As the money market stiffened in the following year, however, these shares were sold at a heavy loss and in the report of the Brazil Railway Company for 1913 the shareholders were advised that the company had withdrawn from enterprises in Bolivia.

When one considers the heterogeneity of the territory traversed and the political, geographical, and financial obstacles, one is not surprised that South Americans were excited by the audacious attempt of a single financial group to control a railway system extending from Rio de Janeiro to Montevideo, from Buenos Aires to Asunción, and from Buenos Aires to Antofogasta.²¹ And the enormous concessions of land created further alarm. It was, perhaps, unfortunate that the syndicate should have been considered a form of American financial penetration since practically all the funds were obtained in Europe. The registration of the companies in the United States was especially unhappy since it led to the allegation in Brazil that Farquhar had purposely registered his companies there to ensure political protection in case of need.²² The same fear of the effect on national political life was manifested in the Argentine press. One contributor to a

²⁰ P. 1101.

²¹ The scheme was frequently called an attempt to create a "Canadian Pacific of the south" but the magnitude of the task seems even greater.

²² Objection on this score came also from the financial press which regretted

lively correspondence in the *Buenos Ayres Standard* during October and November of 1912 insisted that

once let the Farquhar trust establish itself firmly in South America and it will drag down the United States on top of these little republics.

It must be remembered that less than a decade had elapsed since Swift and Company entered the country as the first large undertaking by American capital in Argentina and the general alarm occasioned by the legend of American big business with its ruthless struggles for control of whole industries, power to make government regulation ineffectual, and grasping monopolistic tendencies, had not yet quieted down.²³ America's part in the creation of Panama and the American economic conquest of Mexico were constantly held up as reasons for apprehension.²⁴ From Valladolid came a warning by Vicente Gay that

If the great network of communications between the South American States be relinquished to the Yankees, they will be found eventually to control the economic life of the nations and turn the countries thus controlled into mere colonies of the North American monopolists.²⁵

In Valparaiso, *El Dia* constantly urged that the railways be native-built without the intervention of land-grabbing foreigners.

British exporters were also uneasy. They were already on the defensive and giving way in the keen economic rivalry of the immediate prewar period. Railway equipment and materials was a major export and there was good reason to believe that they might lose this business if compelled to compete in the open market without the advantage which they had always

"all the unknown quantities that attach to American registration". Company officials advanced lower fees and taxes as the reason for American registration.

²³ "Any other capitalists in the world could indicate their plans for doing business here without causing any disquiet", observed *La Prensa* (Buenos Aires) on June 9, 1909, "but the Americans possess the rare faculty of creating alarm by the mere suggestion of their approach".

²⁴ Some of the directors of the Farquhar companies were associated also with Mexican railways.

²⁵ *La España Moderna*, April 1913, Vicente Gay, "La América Moderna", p. 149.

enjoyed in the practice of British-owned companies to buy British goods. The lethargy of the British-owned São Paulo Railway in failing to make extensions and head off competition brought a storm of harsh criticism when first the syndicate entered Brazil.²⁶ "It inclines one almost to accept the legend of English decadence", bitterly commented *The Brazilian Review* in January 1910.²⁷ In *The Times*, Farquhar, in answer to a letter asserting that his work "would deprive British manufacturers of their most valued customers", wrote that "materials will continue to be purchased in the cheapest and best market irrespective of the country of origin"²⁸—small comfort to a nation whose trade supremacy was being fiercely challenged.²⁹ In the house of commons on January 15, 1913, a question was put regarding the effect of Farquhar's operations on English commerce. It was a disturbing situation.

And then, as suddenly as they had risen to prominence the Farquhar companies declined. By July, 1914, the securities of the Brazil Railway Company had a stock exchange valuation of only £12,000,000 as compared with £23,000,000 in July, 1912. By the end of the year both the Brazilian and Argentine companies were in default and undergoing reorganization.³⁰ The money market had tightened in 1913 and by early 1914 it was clear that it would not be possible to continue indefinitely to raise large sums of money. Had Farquhar's plans stopped at the coördination of railway facilities in

²⁰ The Sorocabana Railway had been for sale but without offers in 1898 and again in 1904.

² *The Times* (London), October 28, and November 5, 1912.

⁵⁰ To *The North American Review*, March 1916, pp. 397-402, Farquhar contributed an article "South America and Investments" in which he urged that the United States take over Britain's investments in South America. When the same idea appeared again in 1919, *The South American Journal* (May 31, 1919, p. 393), objected strenuously on the grounds that "a very large portion of our trade was due chiefly to the fact that the buyers were British-owned companies".

³⁰ When receivers were appointed for the Brazil Railway Company on October 15, 1914, liabilities totaled \$118,000,000. The reorganization was necessarily long drawn out since the amount of capital involved was very large and the corporate structure complicated (38 subsidiaries registered in five different countries; eight protective committees).

southern Brazil, his operating companies might have been able to continue. But the vast developmental schemes had caused him to create many subsidiaries which were still in the formative stage, could not contribute to the revenue of the holding company, and required large financial support for a long time to come. The rise in the value of the syndicate's land and the improvement of livestock breeds, for instance, were at best slow processes that required continued investment. In addition, expansion had gotten out of hand and many of the later purchases had been made at excessive prices; consolidation had been achieved at too great a cost. This was especially true of the Argentine Railway Company which frequently purchased railway shares at prices exceeding the most optimistic views of the future of the lines. Bad seasons in the Argentine and the tightness of the money market made it impossible to meet the guarantees and the Argentine properties reverted to the original operators who continued, however, to employ the principle of coördination which had been devised by the syndicate. Meanwhile, many investors had lost confidence because they were unused to American corporation practices. Objections were widely voiced concerning the mystery of how assets were valued, the lack of full information in reports, the complicated nature of controlling interest and inability of investors to learn exactly what their company owned, and the issue of large blocks of shares as underwriting commissions or promoters' profit representing little cash put into the company.

On October 17, 1914, *The South American Journal* pessimistically summed up the Farquhar episode by saying
It will serve to warn European investors and others from the wild Yankee financial schemes of trying to own, buy up, and control the whole world.³¹

However, when promoters again became active a decade later, they no longer needed to go to Europe for capital.

SIMON G. HANSON.

American University.

³¹ P. 283.

BOOK REVIEWS

Fiscal Intervention in Nicaragua. By ROSCOE R. HILL. (New York: (Paul Maisel Co., printer), 1933. Pp. vii, (1), 117. Bibliography.)

Those who follow developments in Central America are familiar with the charges that the United States has "forced ruinous loans" upon them, reduced them from sovereign states to creatures of the New York banks, and used all three of the branches of our armed forces to crush their efforts to free themselves. Dr. Hill's study is a wholesome corrective to beliefs of this sort so far as concerns financial policy in Nicaragua.

To the more distinctively political phases of American intervention, which have already been adequately presented by others, the author gives only a brief discussion. The financial measures sponsored and supported are analyzed in detail. In them, it is made clear, the initiative was taken by the United States government and the banking interests, at first lukewarm, became later engrossed not because of the high profits which the operations brought but by the desire to assure that they should not lose the capital advanced. For the period of greatest economic stress in the republic, the decisions they took often seemed to involve continued "throwing of good money after bad".

Though the author's analysis is coldly factual he is evidently convinced that the policies of succeeding American administrations as to Nicaraguan finances have looked toward lending a hand to bring the republic out of chaotic conditions thus to promote sound economic development and lay the basis for progress toward democratic government. This latter is far from achieved but that improvement in finance has occurred the author's statement abundantly demonstrates.

The connection between the unstable basis of Nicaraguan economic life and the crises in Nicaragua's public finance are set out. Each of the various loans operations is separately analysed, the details are presented showing the disposition of the monies and the sources from which they were repaid. A discussion of the cost of the loans to Nicaragua indicates that the terms of the borrowings compared favorably with those contemporaneously made to other countries in similar

circumstances. To this general statement should be added, however, the fact that the bankers' activity in the purchase of a majority holding in the Pacific railway and in its subsequent rehabilitation was unusually profitable yielding over seventeen per cent on the original investment for the eleven years in which the property was held. In this case, it was claimed by the bankers that the high return was justified because of the unusually large amount of work which the railroad and other Nicaraguan ventures had required of them.

There follow analyses of the monetary and banking reforms, the setting up and accomplishments of the customs control, the claims commission and the High Commission—a modified form of financial adviser's office.

American policy as to Nicaraguan finance though in charge of different parties from 1906 to 1933, from the time of "dollar diplomacy" to that of the "good neighbor" showed a high degree of uniformity. Under it the republic received financial aid when most needed, and a stable currency. Claims were equitably adjusted, the customs were efficiently administered, railways were changed from liabilities to assets, banking was put on a sound basis, and remarkable progress was made in paying off public debts and improving the national credit.

CHESTER LLOYD JONES.

University of Wisconsin.

O Conde de Motta Maia, Medico e Amigo Dedicado de D. Pedro Segundo: Reminiscencias do Segundo Reinado. By MANOEL A. VELHO DA MOTTA MAIA, with introductory letters by PRINCE PEDRO D'ORLÉANS BRAGANÇA and the COUNT OF AFFONSO CELSO. (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Francisco Alves, 1937. Pp. 449. Illus. 20\$000.)

This biography of Dom Pedro II's last Brazilian physician is composed largely of contemporary letters, hitherto unpublished, most of them written by the Conde de Motta Maia or to him. The other writers include foreign physicians and scientists, Brazilian statesmen, and members of the imperial family. A few of the letters are by the emperor.

The author of the volume, the Conde de Motta Maia's eldest son, witnessed, as a youth in his teens, the stirring incidents marking the fall of the Brazilian Empire in 1889 and, with his father, sailed on the *Alagoas* which carried the emperor into exile. He keeps entirely

in the background, however, and uses the third person in the few necessary references to himself. And he shows the same delicacy in the evaluation of his father, letting others speak through their letters.

The book is a valuable contribution to Brazilian history. It describes the career of one of the most distinguished physicians of the second empire, incidentally throwing considerable light upon medical development during the period. It also supplies additional corroborative source material on the later years of Dom Pedro; and here and there it furnishes details about him available before only in manuscript form. For instance, one of the conde's letters reveals the fact that the emperor, while in Europe in 1887-1888 because of illness, though physically feeble, was so indefatigable intellectually that he planned to visit Palestine and Egypt; only after a hard struggle on the part of his physicians was he induced to give up the idea.

The author offers abundant documentary evidence, including a letter from Dom Pedro himself (p. 280) that the first telegram sent by Ouro Preto to the emperor on the day the republic was proclaimed was received promptly by Dom Pedro—not withheld from his patient by the conde, as was charged by some of his contemporaries. The letters also reveal the rare loyalty and devotion of the physician. Not only did he stay with the imperial exile to the end, attending him zealously in a medical capacity, but often he acted as secretary and personal servant as well.

The book includes twenty-one illustrations, mostly portraits, and an analytical table of contents.

MARY WILHELMINE WILLIAMS.

Goucher College.

The United States and the Republic of Panama. By WILLIAM D. McCAIN. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1937. Pp. xv, 278. \$3.00.)

Although the Panama Canal has been the key to our whole policy in the Caribbean since 1900, the diplomatic history of the other republics of the region has thus far received more attention from students than that of the Republic of Panama itself. A scholarly study of the chief problems which have arisen in our relations with Panama thus supplies a real need. Dr. McCain has obviously examined carefully the accessible printed and manuscript material on his subject, and has presented detailed and copiously annotated accounts of the

controversies over the interpretation of the Hay-Bunau Barilla Treaty, the Panama-Costa Rica boundary question, and the recent efforts to place the relations between the United States and Panama on a more satisfactory basis. His treatment of the earlier period, where the diplomatic correspondence is available, is naturally far more complete than his discussion of later events.

Dr. McCain is clearly inclined, on general principles, to sympathize with Panama in its contentions against what he frequently refers to as "The Colossus of the North" but his statement of the facts is rarely colored by this sympathy. Readers who have been in close touch with Panaman problems, however, will probably feel that some phases of the unique and extremely complicated relationship which inevitably exists between the Republic of Panama and the Canal Zone are not sufficiently emphasized. The great problems of protecting the canal and providing for the welfare of large communities of North Americans in a hot, tropical climate, for example, are touched upon only in connection with specific controversies, with little effort to present them as a whole from the viewpoint of the responsible American authorities. A better understanding of this viewpoint would help to explain much which seems arbitrary and unreasonable in the attitude of the American government, even though it did not excuse the tactless and inconsiderate manner in which our interests have sometimes been defended. Little or nothing, moreover, is said about the sanitation of the Panaman cities, in which the two governments have coöperated so closely and with such important results.

The author does bring out clearly the most important fact in the relations between Panama and the United States: the loyal coöperation which Panama has given in the work of building and operating and defending the canal. Even though he deals chiefly with cases where this coöperation seemed in danger of breaking down, the reader is made to perceive its reality. If it had been practicable, as it doubtless was not, to discuss more fully the numerous fields in which Panaman and American authorities have worked together without becoming involved in diplomatic controversies, the picture might have been still more convincing.

DANA G. MUNRO.

Princeton University.

The Economic Literature of Latin America. A Tentative Bibliography. Compiled by the STAFF OF THE BUREAU OF ECONOMIC RESEARCH IN LATIN AMERICA, HARVARD UNIVERSITY. Vol. II. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936. Pp. xx, 348. \$4.00.)

Volume I of this work, which was reviewed in this section for November, 1935, dealt with the individual states of South America. This second volume deals with the individual states of Mexico, Central America, and the West Indies. Included also are Puerto Rico and the Panama Canal, but all European colonies are excluded. The book

completes a preliminary survey of the economic literature on Latin America, undertaken to provide a guide for economists and others interested in the social sciences. . . . The principles which determined the content and form of the first volume have been maintained here, except in cases where changes were dictated by the nature of the material at hand.

The chief sources from which items have been gathered are the Library of Congress, the Harvard University Library, the New York Public Library, and the Library of the Pan American Union, but other libraries in the United States, Europe, and Hispanic America have supplied some items. Moreover, some references have been taken from publishers' catalogs, from printed bibliographies, and from periodical indices. As in the case of the first volume, most documents have been excluded from this work except the reports of the United States Department of Commerce and the Department of Overseas Trade of Great Britain. Included also are "official reports of high economic importance, especially those written by economists not occupying a government position".

This volume contains 6,276 entries (as compared with 6,244 in the first volume), none of which is listed more than once. Each item contains the author's full name when known, the title of the work (or the article and the name of the periodical), the place and date of publication, and the number of pages or volumes. In the case of titles of books, the editors have shortened some without indication of omission, and they have abbreviated others in order to save space. Perhaps this practice is permissible in such a work, but one is inclined to wonder why the Harvard University Press should sacrifice accuracy to save money!

The first section of the bibliography is devoted to "Latin America", which with more reason might better have been called the "Caribbean Area". The second section is called "Mexico and Cen-

tral America", the third "Mexico", the fourth "Guatemala", the fifth "Honduras", the sixth "Salvador" (El Salvador would have been more accurate), the seventh "Nicaragua", the eighth "Costa Rica", the ninth "Panama", the tenth "West Indies", the eleventh "Cuba", the twelfth "Puerto Rico", the thirteenth "Haiti", the fourteenth "Dominican Republic", and the fifteenth "Panama Canal". Because of the close relation between Haiti and the Dominican Republic and between Cuba and Puerto Rico, items on either country may be found under both classifications. Each of these large sections, except that on the Panama Canal, contains the following topical sub-classifications:

- I. Economic and Social Theory
- II. Indian Economy
- III. Colonial Economy
- IV. The Period since Independence
 - A. Economic conditions
 - B. Travel and description
 - C. Agriculture
 - D. Industry
 - E. Population
 - F. Labor
 - G. Trade
 - H. Transportation and Communication
 - I. Public Finance
 - J. Currency and Banking
 - K. Capital Migrations
 - L. International Economic Relations

Here some exceptions appear, especially when the year 1810 is considered as the beginning of "the Period since Independence". Naturally Cuba and Puerto Rico do not fit into this scheme of chronology. In the case of the sub-classifications for the "Panama Canal" the following topics are used:

- I. The Period before 1904
 - A. Projects and Construction
 - B. Economic and Political Aspects
- II. The Period since 1904
 - A. Construction and Operation
 - B. Economic and Political Aspects

At the beginning of all sections are brief introductory bibliographical statements, and in some cases briefer introductions precede certain topical sub-classifications. Two appendices are of value: "Notes on the statistical sources of Mexico and the Caribbean" and

"Notes on the collections of Latin American economic literature in leading libraries". The index contains the names of authors only.

Generally speaking, the problem of topical classification and chronology has been solved as satisfactorily as possible in a work dealing with geographical groups and historical facts much more divergent than those treated in the first volume. Perhaps as good an arrangement might have been employed by using general topics with geographical subdivisions; but this too has its objections.

In conclusion it should be said that both the criticisms and commendations made in regard to the first volume may be repeated here, for a bibliography must be judged as much by the titles omitted as by the titles included. As in the first volume, there is no consideration given here of maps or charts, which for economists should be invaluable; and there is no list of economic periodicals from which the items have been taken. It is true that the latter information can be gathered by a careful search through the volume; but this is another bibliography in itself. Nevertheless, the standard set in the first volume has been continued, and, perhaps, improved here. The result is a valuable bibliographical aid which no student of Hispanic American life in general can afford to neglect. The Bureau for Economic Research in Latin America should be congratulated on the completion of its project in so commendable a fashion.

A. CURTIS WILGUS.

Washington, D. C.

Guide to Law and Legal Literature of Central American Republics.

By EDWARD SCHUSTER. [Bibliographies of Foreign Law Series No. 11.] (New York: American Foreign Law Association, 1937. Pp. vi, 153. \$2.00.)

Historians will find this monograph of incalculable value in their research work. Of all source material, none is more fundamental than the law, yet historians have rarely been trained to look beyond the written text of statutes, to their underlying principles, their interpretation, and actual implementation. The six Central American republics, though their legal literature is of relatively small compass, have heretofore presented peculiar difficulties for obtaining adequate information as to what has been published. Few adequate libraries are to be found even in those countries themselves and bibliographical data have been heretofore scanty and generally inaccessible. No one

who has not had experience in the field can appreciate the protracted, painstaking, and scholarly toil that has gone into this apparently modest publication. The conspectus of the law and of its history that it embodies is reliable, no one being better qualified for such a task than Mr. Schuster whose professional practice and former activities as vice-chairman of the comparative law section of the American Bar Association and chairman of the committee on foreign law of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York have made him an outstanding authority in the difficult and little-trodden field of Spanish-American law. The volume was copyrighted in Mr. Schuster's name, and may be obtained from Foreign & International Book Co., New York.

PHANOR J. EDER.

New York, N. Y.

El Gobierno Mexicano: su Organización y Funcionamiento. By GENERAL JOSÉ MIJARES PALENCIA. 1st ed. (México: [Impreso en los Talleres Gráficos de la Nación], 1936.)

A clear and competent exposition of the organization and functions of the Mexican federal government in the year 1936 has been written by General José Mijares Palencia and published with the approval of the Mexican government. The outline followed is simple: the three branches of the government are dealt with in general, then a chapter is devoted to each of their major component parts. The offices of these latter are listed and their functions described, and at the end of the chapters dealing with the secretariats and autonomous departments is quoted the regulation which governs the distribution of duties to the particular entity under discussion. The whole work is based on actual laws and regulations, which are cited freely.

It is scarcely necessary to point out that such a work almost on publication is out of date. Since this was written, considerable reorganization has been effected, including the creation of the departamento autónomo de publicidad y propaganda.

The author unfortunately succumbed to the temptation of giving a brief sketch of the history of the departments of the executive branch—unfortunately, because, although his citations are helpful in following such history, he is often misleadingly brief.

There are a few sections to which special attention should be called. The author has grouped at the end under "Capítulos complementarios": Beneficencia pública, Universidad nacional de Méx-

ico, Dirección general de pensiones civiles de retiro, and Partido nacional revolucionario. Within the text are others. Under "Hacienda" is a study of several pages on the history of money in Mexico. In the chapter on "Educación pública" is a sympathetic article on the aims of the present educational system of the Mexican government. Perhaps it is the author's military experience that makes the chapter on the "Secretaría de guerra y marina" read like a defense of a beloved institution. In passing, be it said, that, as governor of Puebla, he had an opportunity to familiarize himself with administrative problems. The work as a whole has been unusually successful in maintaining a tone both impersonal and expository. The English edition announced in the preface, if it is ever published, should find a considerable number of grateful consultants.

ANNITA M. KER.

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Con Sandino en Nicaragua. By RAMÓN DE BELAUSTIGUIGOITIA.
(Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, S.A., 1934. Pp. 136. 5 pesetas.)

There has been a fairly even stream of "sandinista" literature even since Carlton Beals penetrated the Nicaragua jungle to interview the extraordinary figure who for long months symbolized a desperate resistance against the machine guns and airplanes of the United States marines. This little book, by a Spanish journalist with an unpronounceable name, as the author himself admits Sandino was wont to say, covers a purely personal angle of the Sandino epic. There are brief chapters devoted to the broader aspects: Central American politics in general and American imperialism in particular. These are the weak sections of the book. The content dealing with Sandino, the man, his thought and ideology, is interesting and perhaps novel to those who have thought of the Nicaraguan leader merely in terms of a state department reported "bandit". The volume is superficial but readable.

RICHARD PATTEE.

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Galería de Presidentes de Panamá. By ERNESTO J. CASTILLERO R.
(Panamá, R. P.: Tipografía y Casa Editorial La Moderna, 1936.
Pp. 96.)

This slim volume is intended to give an outline of the personalities and administrations of the presidents of Panamá since the separation

in 1903. The purpose is undoubtedly helpful. Panamanian history since independence is popularly conceived as limited almost entirely to international matters and controversies concerning the canal. The internal evolution of the republic and especially its political development have received scant attention. Professor Castillero is one of the most energetic and productive of Panamanian historians, as is demonstrated by the respectable bibliography already to his credit. This little booklet sketches the biography and public acts of the twenty men who have served in an executive capacity as the heads of Panamá. The author observes in a preliminary note that the history of Panamá is in reality the story of the men who have guided its destinies. Hence the biographical sketches serve as a history of contemporary Panamá. The general purpose is one of orientation, of giving those facts and data which prove useful to the student desirous of knowing the personalities who have left the greatest impress on Panamanian life. The monograph opens with Don José Agustín Arango, called by Castillero the *cerebro del movimiento de emancipación*. Arango belonged to the first triumvirate which ruled Panamá, together with Tomás Arias and Federico Boyd. The first constitutional president of the republic was one of the remarkable isthmian figures, Dr. Manuel Amador Guerrero. In February of 1904, this distinguished citizen took office for a term of four years. He was, perhaps, the most venerated personage in the early history of independent Panamá.

Beyond doubt the most interesting part of this booklet is the analysis of the events since 1930, especially the complete reorientation of the political parties and the causes which led to the revolution of 1931 and the overthrow of the presidency of Florencio Arosemena. Panamanian politics since 1930, it should be noted, have been extremely confusing for the foreign observer. Numerous parties, which have developed from fragments of the older liberal and conservative organizations have contributed to obscuring the march of affairs in the republic. Through his study of Florencio Arosemena, Ricardo Alfaro, Harmodio Arias, Domingo Díaz Arosemena, and the present executive who took office on October 20 last, Professor Castillero has produced a clear and succinct account of the politics of the little nation. In a sense, Castillero has created this type of synthetic presentation in Panamá.

RICHARD PATTIE.

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A Description of Patagonia and the Adjoining Parts of South America. By THOMAS FALKNER, S.J. With an Introduction and Notes by ARTHUR E. S. NEUMANN. (Chicago: Armann & Armann, 1935. Pp. viii, [4], iv, 168. Maps. \$6.00.)

This valuable and informative volume was first published at Hereford, printed by C. Pugh, and sold by T. Lewis, Russell-street, Covent Garden, London, in 1774. It still forms one of the best books ever written containing matter relative to part of present-day Patagonia, while the information concerning territory not now included in that huge district is still authoritative in many ways. Although Falkner's work has been brought out in French and German, the present edition is the only English facsimile yet published, although the intrinsic merit of the volume merited such publication long ago.

The present facsimile is complete in every detail, including the two maps of Patagonia and adjoining regions. The volume was printed at the Lakeside Press on ivory laid antique paper.

The noted Jesuit entered the Company of Jesús, as Neumann relates in his introduction, almost inadvertently. He was a physician by profession and undertook a voyage to Africa and the Río de la Plata for the sake of his health. The trip failed to help him; but he was so well cared for by the Jesuits of Buenos Aires that he recovered his health and at the same time was converted to the Roman Catholic faith. Entering the Jesuit Order, he took his final vows in 1749. His first missionary labors were in Paraguay and northern Argentina. Since, however, a physician was needed in the Patagonian region, he was sent thither. However, Mr. Neumann states that Falkner hardly entered the region known today as Patagonia. "He describes", says Neumann (p. VI),

the valley of the Rio Negro and most of Argentina north of it as an eyewitness, but he depends on the relations of missionaries, Indians, and Spanish captives whom he rescued from the aborigines, for a description of the interior of the continent below the Negro.

When the Jesuits were expelled from the Spanish colonies, the missionary, now sixty years old, returned to Europe and spent several years in England. In 1771, he was transferred to the English province of his order and labored in England until his death in Shropshire in 1784.

Falkner's book arose from the political desires of Robert Berkeley who, Mr. Neumann says, wished to add Patagonia to England's

American possessions. Berkeley had the geographer Kitchin make a map of the general region and asked Falkner to write a description of the region depicted on the map. The preface of the volume is not in its entirety the work of Falkner, but parts of it were apparently written by one William Combe who revised the Jesuit's manuscript for Robert Berkeley. This volume gives the first description in English of the Tehuelche and Puelche Indians and other passages combine to make this an important source book.

The editing of the volume has been well done. Comments by the editor in note form (pp. 145-164) add greatly to the usefulness of the narrative. The maps are well reproduced. The short index of four pages might acceptably have been lengthened.

JAMES A. ROBERTSON.

NOTES AND COMMENT

THE JUNTA DE FOMENTO OF HAVANA AND THE LÓPEZ EXPEDITIONS

Just before his execution on September 1, 1851, Narciso López made the now famous statement, "My death will not change the destinies of Cuba". He was speaking of the separation of Cuba from Spain, and time has verified the correctness of his prediction. The conservative element in Cuba, however, was very glad that López himself failed to make any immediate change in the destinies of the island. The *junta de fomento*, composed of twelve councilors and a syndic appointed by the crown from the business men and planters, was fairly representative of the wealthier inhabitants of Cuba. This junta and the class it represented were working to keep the like of López and his followers from overthrowing the authority of Spain in the "Ever Faithful Isle".

On May 19, 1850, Narciso López, with about five hundred men disembarked in Cárdenas, in the province of Matánzas, and took possession of the town. The inhabitants failed to come to their support as they expected, and the news that Spanish troops were hastening from Matanzas caused López and his army to reembark on the *Creole* the same day. The expedition ended in a race to Key West, the arrest of Narciso López at Savannah by United States officers and his almost triumphant release through the influence of southern opinion which favored his schemes.

At the first session of the junta de fomento after these events (June 14, 1850), the following resolutions were adopted before any other business was discussed:

1st—That the individuals who compose the *Real Junta de Fomento de Agricultura y Comercio* are now and always ready with their persons and property to support the flag of Spain and its government in this island, and now and always will the governor captain general find them at his side for the development and welfare of the island and also for its defense; 2nd—that the corporation offers its funds, credit, buildings, laborers, equipment, and anything it has which the superior government of the island may need for its defense and preservation. . .¹

¹ Archivo Nacional de Cuba, Junta de Fomento, libro 199, p. 48.

The next year (August 12th), López landed at Las Palmitas near Bahía Honda with another expedition of about the same number of followers. Two days later, the junta de fomento met under the presidency of its oldest councilor, the Conde de Pozos Dulces, and unanimously voted to wait on the captain general in body and

offer him not only the support that might be given to the government as one of its corporations, but all the services which each one of its members could contribute individually with his goods and person in defense of the sacred rights of our august queen (may God preserve her).³

The junta then presented itself to Captain General Concha, whom the Conde de Pozos Dulces addressed in the name of the junta in words similar to those just quoted. To this speech, Concha replied with effusive thanks in the name of her Majesty,

concluding with assuring the corporation that tranquility would be re-established very soon, giving a severe lesson to those who thought that they could attack with impunity the flag of Spain.⁴

One might conclude that the action of the members of the junta was owing solely to the fact that the junta was one of the government agencies but the minutes of the session of August 23 contradict this view. One of the councilors, José Solano Alvear, called attention to the fact that the vote on the above mentioned resolution was unanimous in its favor, but that, in an exposition in the *Gaceta* of the seventeenth, he and two others had not been mentioned among those who approved and signed it. He asked, in order to avoid any

doubt that might arise about any member of the corporation not being disposed to sacrifice his life and fortune in defense of the mother country and our august sovereign, Doña Isabel II, that they vote to write in the minutes of the junta that none of its members refused to subscribe to the exposition mentioned, and that all are disposed to sacrifice themselves in defense of the sacred rights of the queen our lady and of the nation.

The proposition of Alvear was immediately adopted.⁴

General Concha fulfilled his promise to the junta de fomento and unwittingly López helped him. Leaving one detachment of his men under Colonel William S. Crittenden to bring up the baggage, López pushed on into the interior. The Spanish forces placed themselves between the two groups and destroyed them separately. Crittenden and his men tried to reembark but were caught by General Bustillos,

³ *Ibíd.*, libro 200, p. 131.

⁴ *Ibíd.*, p. 132.

⁴ Archivo Nacional de Cuba, Junta de Fomento, libro 200, p. 132.

the naval commander. López and the others, after a valiant stand at Las Pozas, were routed and taken as they fled through the forests. While any of the followers of López were still in arms, the captain general had all prisoners shot soon after their capture. Consequently, all but 147 of the members of the expedition perished by execution or on the field of battle. The 147 were sent to Spain where they were finally liberated. Narciso López himself was sent to the garrote on September 1, 1851, after having made the statement already quoted.

In the minutes of the extraordinary session of the junta de fomento, held on August 30, we find the following:

The members of the corporation, being spontaneously met together in its assembly room on account of the official notice relative to the capture of the traitor leader (*traidor cabecilla*) of the exterminated faction, published in the extraordinary *Gaceta* of this date, unanimously voted to present themselves in a body to his excellency the governor captain general, to congratulate him for so fortunate an event which, assuring the tranquility of the island, will put a stop to the rash attempts of those who intend to disturb it.

It was also voted unanimously, on the proposal of the secretary, that, in addition to opening a subscription among the members of the junta and its deputies and employees, the product of which will be placed at the disposal of his excellency, the governor captain general, in order that he may distribute it among the heroic defenders of this island as he thinks most convenient, that permission be solicited from his excellency to make it extend to the planters and business men, the two classes that the corporation represents.⁵

The captain general granted the request and at its next session the junta appointed a committee to carry out the proposal. A special session was held on September 9 to take the subscription among the members. In the meantime, the ayuntamiento of Havana had begun a similar subscription among its members and the inhabitants of the city. It was necessary to take into account that some of the members of the junta de fomento had subscribed through other channels, some as members of the ayuntamiento and others as partners in some of the business firms. Therefore, it was decided to enter in the minutes of the junta the total amount each member had subscribed altogether. The following is the list from the minutes:

Conde de Pozos Dulces	absent
Domingo Guillermo Arozarena	\$102
Marqués de Prado Ameno	102
Tomás Lerena	340
Escolástico Martínez Pérez	510
Miguel de la Puente	absent

⁵ Archivo Nacional de Cuba, Junta de Fomento, libro 200, pp. 137-138.

Nicolás Martínez Valdivielgo	510
Francisco de Vargas	absent
José de Solano Alvear	510
Juan P. Bastarreche	absent
Juan Bautista de la Cantera	102
Francisco de Arango y Quesada	absent
José Llanuza	170
Gabriel López Martínez	absent
Nicolás López de la Torre	204
Agustín de Bolívar	85
José Plá	204
Francisco de Goyri y Beazcooecha	510
Miguel de Hano y Vega	absent
Miguel de Cárdenas	170
José Ramón Aqueche	510
Francisco Oger (<i>contador</i>)	51
Mariano Boselió (<i>tesorero</i>)	51
	—
	\$4,233

In addition the following persons had donated through other channels the following amounts:

Juan Fernández Rico (as a member of a mercantile firm)	\$510
Ramón de Montalvo y Calvo (as a partner in the theater)	102
Agustín de Bolívar (personal donation in addition to amount given by his firm)	17
Jacinto González Larrinaga	1,020
José Joaquín Carrera	510
Bartolomé Mitjans (as a member of a business firm)	850
Nicolás López de la Torre (as a member of a business firm)	76 4 reales
	—
	\$3,085 4 reales

The subscription concluded, the secretary proposed that "now that that debt of gratitude was paid" to those

who had shed their blood in defense of our queen and our homes, it remained to satisfy the just tribute of recognition and admiration that all the inhabitants of this most faithful island owe to the royal army and navy which garrison it with decision, constancy, valor, and suffering.

He then continues,

That this corporation representing the property and wealth of all the island should promote a public and solemn manifestation of the gratitude of the inhabitants to our land and sea forces for their heroic behavior.

To this end he proposed that the junta promote a subscription for a fund to buy a sword and saber of honor to be presented to the army and navy. In order that everyone might be able to contribute no one was to be allowed to give over two pesos. The proposition was unanimously adopted and a committee was appointed to carry it out. It was then proposed and voted to buy, at the sole expense of the junta, a bastón of command to be presented to Captain General Concha

as a proof of the ability with which he has discharged the command of this island and of the skilful dispositions with which he has saved its inhabitants from the ravages of the invasion with which they have seen themselves menaced.⁶

At the regular session of September 18, 1851, some of the members of the junta, who were absent when the subscription for the "heroes" was taken, were allowed to state the amounts they had given or wished to give. Miguel de la Puente said that he had given 153 pesos as a member of a business firm, Gabriel López Martínez had given 510 of the 1,020 pesos donated by his firm, Francisco de Vargas, as alcalde of the ayuntamiento, had given 204 pesos to the fund raised by that body besides his share of the expenses for the honors and festivities it had given. Miguel de Hano y Vega said that he had already given 204 pesos through the ayuntamiento but that he wished to give a like amount through the junta de fomento. He said that he was

making this donation to her Majesty for the protection given to his two sugar-mills, "Nazareno" and "Apuros", situated in Bahía Honda and Las Posas.⁷

In judging motives for making subscriptions to any cause, many things must be taken into consideration, such as pride, fear of criticism, and emotion. In the case of the junta de fomento, it must be remembered that it was a government corporation and that its president was the captain general, although he did not attend any of the sessions whose minutes have been cited. There are, however, facts that weigh heavily on the other side. Captain General Concha was opposed to the existence of the junta with the ample powers then exercised by that body. Almost from the time he arrived in Cuba, he bent his efforts toward getting the Spanish government to give the captain general control over all the government agencies in the island. Scarcely any branch of the administration escaped criticism

⁶ Archivo Nacional de Cuba, Junta de Fomento, libro 200, pp. 141-143.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 144-145.

in his many representations to the home government. As recently as April 1, 1851, he had written to the president of the council of ministers attacking almost every department of the government that had any independence whatever—the intendant, the naval commander, the ayuntamiento of Havana, all the courts from the audiencias down to the lowest judges, and last but not least the junta de fomento. To him it was not only dangerous but absurd to allow such a body, even though its members were royal appointees, to handle hundreds of thousand of dollars of public funds annually, when the captain general had only a vote in the matter.⁸ He did not stop his attacks with the letter mentioned, nor even after his removal from Cuba, but continued until the Spanish government became convinced that he was right; and in 1853-1855 it issued decrees that reduced the junta de fomento to a mere advisory body and limited most of the other departments almost as much.⁹ In such a state of affairs, one would not expect much love to be lost between him and the members of the junta de fomento. It is, therefore, difficult to explain why these members should have raised several thousand dollars to please the captain general, and promoted a subscription to buy a sword of honor for him to wear. Miguel de Hano y Vega has left us a solution by explaining that his two donations amounting to 408 pesos were "for the protection given to his two sugar-mills". The members of the junta were men who were in danger of losing heavily by an insurrection. Señor Hano y Vega needed no one to explain the danger to himself. The second López expedition mentioned landed near one of his sugar-mills and the most severe fight occurred near the other. Besides the fear of economic loss, there was the ever present dread of a slave revolt. It is not to be thought for a moment that Narciso López and his followers from the southern states would have intentionally precipitated a slave insurrection when they were planning to add Cuba to the slave states of the Union, but there was no guarantee as to what the Negroes would do. In 1841, there were 418,211 whites in Cuba, 436,493 slaves, and 152,838 free persons of color. Then, too, as late as 1844 the whites had been thoroughly frightened by the discovery,

⁸ *Boletín del Archivo Nacional*, November-December, 1905, pp. 106-111. Several of his letters are printed in the issues of the *Boletín*, May to December.

⁹ José Gutiérrez de la Concha, *Memorias sobre la Isla de Cuba* (Madrid, 1853). Rodríguez San Pedro, *Legislación ultramarina* (16 vols., Madrid, 1865-1869), I, 70, 101, 173-174, and II, 53-54.

or supposed discovery, of a slave conspiracy with ramifications throughout the island.

The data available on the results of the subscriptions outside of the junta are not very full but are rather suggestive. Toward the fund for the wounded and widows and children of the killed, the ayuntamiento of Havana raised 87,857 pesos. A farming district about twenty miles square lying to the west and southwest of Havana (that is between the capital and where López landed) raised a little over 1,400 pesos.¹⁰ Four hundred miles to the east, the ayuntamiento of Manzanillo raised 1,577.15 pesos from its district—250 pesos being given by the members of the ayuntamiento, 1,124.15 pesos by planters and business men, and the rest by government employees.¹¹ The total amount raised for the wounded soldiers and the widows and orphans of the slain does not appear, but the above citations are enough to show that the people contributed liberally.

With respect to the sword and saber fund more data is available. The minutes of the junta de fomento show that 6,000 pesos were contributed in amounts of two pesos and under.¹² Several of the subscription lists exist and these indicate that a majority of the contributions were of less than half a peso. For instance, in the city of Santa Clara, one hundred and thirty-four persons gave 47 pesos.¹³ Evidently, between ten and twenty thousand people contributed to the fund. This number would need to be multiplied several times to obtain the number of persons actually represented by the subscription lists, for in most cases the contributors must have been heads of families. This is borne out by many entries in the lists where several persons were listed as making a single contribution. When we remember that the white population of Cuba in 1851 was only about a half million (418,291 in 1841 and 603,046 in 1860), the subscription list for the sword and saber fund looks very large. With these figures in view ones does not wonder that Narciso López received almost no support in Cuba on landing.

With the 6,000 pesos, the junta de fomento ordered a sword for General Concha which bore the inscription,

Al valor, al patriotismo y pureza del Don José de la Concha, la gratitud de Cuba en Agosto de 1851

¹⁰ *Gaceta de la Habana*, September 23, 1851. ¹¹ *Ibid.*, September 24, 1851.

¹² Archivo Nacional de Cuba, Junta de Fomento, libro 201, pp. 53, 144.

¹³ *El Eco* of Villa Clara, September 30, October 2, 10, 14, 21, 28, November 8 and 25, 1851.

and a saber for the naval commander with the inscription,
Cuba: á la bizarría, pericia y acierto del General de Marina Don José María Bustillo en Agosto de 1851.²⁴

When General Concha was called home in 1852 he took with him a testimonial signed by 1,812 residents of Cuba who subscribed themselves as

the friends, the admirers of the valiant, active and indefatigable general, the impartial, wise, just, and prudent governor, the honorable, generous, upright gentleman who has returned to the Metropolis, leaving in this island sweet and lively remembrances of his eminent virtues.²⁵

With this evidence before us, the wonder is not that Narciso López failed but that, knowing the Cuban people as he did, he should have been so deceived as to their attitude. Times, however, have changed in Cuba. The flag that López carried when he landed in Cárdenas is now the flag of the republic.

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THE TOSCANELLI LETTERS AND COLUMBUS

In a communication to the HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW of November, 1935, Mr. F. A. Kirkpatrick points out that the long-waged dispute over the authenticity of the Toscanelli letters is still unsettled, and suggests certain new means of approach.

The letters attributed to the Florentine scientist can be studied only at second hand, so it is doubtful whether such examination would throw much new light on the subject. A reexamination of the Latin letter in the *Colombina* could hardly do more than clarify the problem of handwriting, as between Christopher and Bartholomew Columbus.

The present writer, having studied the question for some time, feels, like Mr. Kirkpatrick, that not all possibilities have been exhausted and that unused evidence can still be added. He believes that some key may be found in the Portuguese negotiations of Columbus.

Our accounts of the discoverer's relations with King João are meager. Yet João de Barros, in describing their interview, lets fall

²⁴ Archivo Nacional de Cuba, Junta de Fomento, libro 201, p. 144.

²⁵ Concha, *Memorias*, Appendix, pp. 15-40.

a remark that may be important. He states that Columbus had read or was familiar with Marco Polo, and says that the Genoese proposed to discover the island of Cipangu. This is exactly the discovery suggested by Toscanelli in his letter to Martins and the duplicate to Columbus. Hence we have Columbus, in 1484, proposing to do a thing that Vignaud and González de la Rosa believe him to have conceived only after 1492.

Where Barros acquired this information is unknown. He did not get it from Ferdinand Columbus, whose work was not available, nor from Las Casas, who quotes Barros several times. His informant was neither Ruy de Pina nor Garcia de Resende, Portuguese historians contemporaneous with João and Columbus; for both merely say that the king rejected the proposal to discover Antillia and Cipangu, and give no particulars. Barros thus had some source of information now lost and presumably reliable, since that historian was unusually careful as to his facts.

If Columbus knew enough about Marco Polo in 1484 to base a projected voyage of discovery upon his work, whence had the information come to him? Not from the copy of Polo's narrative that he later owned and annotated copiously, for that volume was published in 1485 and must have been read in Spain. Had he picked up stray hints during his residence at Madeira or Lisbon? Possibly, but this seems unlikely. Portuguese voyagers frequently sailed westward into the Atlantic in Columbus's time, but they were bent upon a different type of discovery from that which Polo's work would inspire. Traces of such expeditions, or projected ones, survive in the documents concerning Arcos, Dulmo, and Estreito, which refer to the "Seven Cities" (Antillia) but have no reference to Cipangu or Asia but only to vaguely defined "terra firme" beyond the islands. Columbus's Portuguese associates at this time were practical seamen, with interest in exploration but with no system of cosmography. While their vocabularies included the word "Antillia", they did not contain "Cipangu". The latter word could come only from Marco Polo, directly or indirectly, for no other geographical work contained it.

Since we doubt that Columbus had as yet seen Polo's narrative, which was rare and furthermore little regarded by geographers, it is necessary to postulate an intermediary. The logical person is Toscanelli, whose whole concept of Eastern Asia is Marco Polo's. That Columbus later claimed credit for an idea that he had not had

in 1484 and 1492 seems disproven by the united testimonies of Pina, Barros, and Resende, not one of whom appears to have used non-Portuguese sources.

One other point deserves notice. Barros states that King João, after one rejection, referred the plan of Columbus to a trio of mathematicians, and names them. Is not this evidence that in the proposition there was something *scientific* to consider, over and above the water-front gossip that Columbus could have picked up in any Atlantic seaport? The king was no tyro in learning; if he deemed the matter worthy of reference to a learned body, it must mean that the proposal was based on ideas beyond the ability of the then meagerly educated Columbus to originate. It should be remembered that most of the latter's studies were made *after* his removal to Spain.

Admittedly this is not a full solution to the problem of the Toscanelli correspondence. It is, the writer feels, an additional confirmation of its authenticity.

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The University of North Carolina Press is about to publish the first volume of its Inter-American Historical Series. This is the translation of Ricardo Levene's *Lecciones de Historia Argentina*, which has been translated and edited by Professor William Spence Robertson of the University of Illinois. Other volumes to follow the first volume will be the translation of Henao and Arrubla's *Historia de Colombia*, by Professor J. Fred Rippy; the translation of Galdame's *Estudio de Historia de Chile*, by Professor Isaac J. Cox; the translation of Pandiá Calogeras's *A Formação histórica do Brasil*, by Professor Percy Alvin Martin; and the translation of Pérez Verdía's *Compendio de la Historia de Mexico*, by Professor Charles W. Hackett. Other volumes will follow in due course. James A. Robertson is the general editor of the series, but each volume is edited by its translator. This is the realization of a plan made in 1926.

The Cuban government has lately initiated a new move to foster inter-American relations by establishing an academic meeting-place for the professors and students of Hispanic and Anglo America. Following the recommendations of the International Congress of Uni-

versity Professors, held in Havana in 1929, and those of the recent Buenos Aires Conference, President Laredo Bru of Cuba has issued a decree-law founding the "Pan-American Institute of Havana". The new institute will invite universities of the United States to send visiting instructors. Students of coöperating universities, up to certain fixed quotas, will be admitted without the payment of tuition or other academic fees. The curriculum will offer a range of courses covering the study "of the economic, social, political, educational, and cultural problems of the American countries". Both graduate and undergraduate instruction will be offered and special certificates and degrees will be awarded. The new institution, under the protection of the Cuban Department of Education and the government, will be controlled by an Administrative Council upon which the coöperating American universities will be adequately represented.—

ROBERT E. McNICOLL.

The most puzzling and intricate series in British medallic history, is, as is well known to collectors and authorities, that dealing with the exploits of Vice Admiral Edward Vernon in the course of his operations in 1739-1741 against the Spanish fortified towns in the Caribbean Sea. Vernon became a popular hero in the British Isles after the capture of Portobelo, and, in commemoration of his victory as well as his anticipated capture of Cartagena, a large number of medals were produced and sold to an eager public. These medals, owing to the number and intricacy of their varieties, have so far defied satisfactory cataloguing although partial attempts to compile lists have been made by authorities of the British Museum, the late Lord Milford Haven, and others. Mr. L. McCormick-Goodhart, of Langley Park, Silver Spring, Maryland, has thus recently been lead to compile a preliminary list of these medals, based principally on an extensive collection, and numbering 247 varieties, in the hope that his efforts may serve to secure the interest and coöperation of all those possessing specimens, with a view ultimately to the publication of an authoritative catalogue, fully illustrated. On Mr. McCormick-Goodhart's behalf, it is hoped that the directors of national collections and owners of private collections throughout Hispanic America, which may include specimens of Admiral Vernon medals, will communicate with him with a view to assisting to make the final catalogue of these medals complete so far as it is humanly

possible to do so. In writing it will be advisable to state approximately how many varieties are represented.

The Sociedad Geográfica "Sucre", of Bolivia has lately been reorganized. Officers for the recent year are as follows: Dr. Angel Sandoval, president; Dr. Moisés Santivañez, vice-president; Dr. Alfredo Jáuregui Rosquellas, secretary general; Dr. Juan Mauricio, treasurer; Dr. Nicanor Mallo, librarian; Dr. Zenón C. Orías, comisionado de hacienda; and Dr. Alfredo Ibarnegaray and Dr. Julio C. Querejazu, vocales. The several sections or divisions of the institution are in charge of the following members: Dr. Alfredo Ibarnegaray, museum; Rev. Dr. Santiago Mendizábal, archives of unpublished documents; Dr. Cirilo M. Penarrieta, maps; Dr. Gastón Arduz E., pamphlets; Dr. Julio C. Querejazu, periodicals; Dr. Plácido Molina, paintings and pictures; Señorita Rebecca Zalazar B., catalogue. The society invites coöperation with other scholars and institutions.

Attention is called to a misstatement in the review of *Handbook of Latin American Studies* (pp. 93-95, published in February, 1937, of this REVIEW). The publication was supported financially, not by the Social Science Research Council but by the American Council of Learned Societies, whose headquarters are in Washington.

Dr. Pelham Horton Box, Lecturer in History at King's College in the University of London, died on May 23, 1937, at the early age of thirty-nine. Educated at Christ Church, Oxford, Dr. Box held a Commonwealth Fund Fellowship at the University of Illinois from 1925 to 1927. His book on *The Origins of the Paraguayan War* was published by the University of Illinois Press in 1930, and at once distinguished him amongst the younger Hispanic-American scholars. A Spanish translation appeared at Asunción in 1936. Dr. Box was well loved as a teacher, and he had many friends both in England and in America. At a time when interest in Hispanic-American studies is awakening in England, his untimely death is a particularly severe loss.

The American University at Washington, D. C., has developed in its summer school for 1937 an "Institute on Inter-American Relations." It is under the direction of Dr. A. Curtis Wilgus of the

George Washington University who for five summers conducted the Seminar Conference on Hispanic American Affairs at the latter institution. This course has now been discontinued as has been all Hispanic American work offered there in the summer. The course at American University consists of lectures given five days a week, two hours daily, for six weeks. The students satisfactorily completing the work of the course are granted four academic credits. Twenty-three speakers who are authorities in the field have been scheduled to lecture. Besides lecturing, each speaker conducts a round-table discussion.

On p. 212, of this REVIEW for May, 1937, line 7, the word "region" should read "reign".

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

VARNHAGEN AND HIS *HISTORIA GERAL DO BRASIL*

A welcome republication is the fifth volume of the third edition of Varnhagen's *Historia Geral do Brasil antes de sua Separação e Independencia de Portugal*. This volume has just been issued by the Companhia Melhoramentos de São Paulo, and was edited by Dr. Rodolpho Garcia, director of the Biblioteca Nacional. This completes the publication of the revision of the classic begun in 1906 by the late João Capistrano de Abreu, in collaboration with Dr. Garcia.

Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen, Viscount of Porto Seguro, died in 1878 at the age of fifty-nine after years of indefatigable collecting of materials on the history of Brazil, most of which were gathered during his diplomatic service in South America and Europe.

Varnhagen was born in Sorocaba, of German parentage. Original to the finger tips, he brought to light data and documents and clarified many obscure points in his country's history. Dr. Garcia credits him with more than one hundred publications upon a variety of subjects. He popularized the name of Caramarú, discovered the resting place of the mortal remains of Cabral, wrote a *Historia da Independencia* and a treatise upon *Os Hollandezes no Brasil*, as well as books and papers upon various literary and economic aspects of Brazilian life.

His greatest work, the *Historia Geral do Brasil*, appeared in two editions during his life: the first in Madrid, the first volume in 1854 and the second in 1857; and the second edition in Vienna, the year before his death. To keep down the price of the second edition, which was in two large volumes totaling 1,220 pages, the author took no royalties from the publishers, the house of Laemmert.

The present edition is embellished with pictures and maps. In his prefatory biographical and bibliographical sketch Dr. Rodolpho Garcia summarizes Varnhagen's places as a Brazilian historian thus:

He was a prodigious worker and his capacity has never been surpassed by any other Brazilian. He was not a compiler but used for the most part new and unpublished materials. His History owes nothing to Rocha Pitta or Southey, his predecessors. Southey's History will always be valuable for its form, its

conception, and its insight; but Varnhagen, coming later, better equipped for research, and more at home in the geographical sense, covered a wider field and was surer of his statements.

No other scholar was more familiar with Varnhagen's work than José Capistrano de Abreu. In 1906, he prepared a revision of the first volume, greatly enriched with his own commentaries and notes. But a fire in the Casa Laemmert destroyed not only all copies of this volume but the manuscript of Capistrano's revision of the second. The editor determined to do the work over again and had the good fortune to obtain the collaboration of Dr. Garcia, known for his work in philology and history. The Companhia Melhoramentos de São Paulo, publishers of Capistrano's edition of the *Historia do Brasil* of Frei Vicente de Salvador, undertook the publication of the third edition.

The first volume did not appear until 1927 and Capistrano died that year, leaving Dr. Garcia to continue the work alone. In 1930, the second volume left the press, to be followed by the third in 1932 and the fourth in 1934. The revision originally contemplated only four volumes but the addition of so much new material necessitated a fifth. The latest volume has a foreword by the eminent historian, Affonso de Taunay, director of the Ypiranga Museum, São Paulo.

Dr. Rodolpho Garcia occupies the Varnhagen chair in the Brazilian Academy of Letters which was founded by Manoel de Oliveira Lima and held by two notable contributors to Brazilian historiography, Alberto de Faria and Rocha Pombo.

FREDERIC WILLIAM GANZERT.

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RECENT PUBLICATIONS IN HONDURAS

The Sociedad de Geografía e Historia de Honduras initiated recently the publication of a series of monographic studies on various aspects of the history and regional geography of the republic of Honduras. The volume devoted to the island of Tigre and the port of Amapala (Tegucigalpa, 1934, pp. 213) was written by Professor Pedro Rivas, member of the society, and appeared on the occasion of the centenary celebration of the foundation of the city of Amapala. The work is divided into two sections, one geographical and the second historical. The study of the geography of the region is in reality considerably broader than the title would indicate. The investigation embraces the Gulf of Fonseca in general and the study of the archipelago therein. The second division summarizes the work of discovery of this portion of Central America, the Gulf of Fonseca during the incursions of the pirates and corsairs, and the principal events of historical interest under independence. The volume includes numerous photographic reproductions, a bibliography, and several maps.

Following the practice of making known the various departments of Honduras, the Sociedad de Geografía e Historia de Honduras issued in 1933 a volume on the Department of Choluteca, compiled in collaboration under the immediate direction of Bernardo Galindo y Galindo. Physical features, industry and agriculture, commerce and communications, and municipal organization are studied in detail. There is a short resumé of the history of the department since its creation as a separate political division in 1825. The volume is without bibliography. In 1934, another publication was added to the list, on the Department of Valle. This little contribution of forty-eight pages surveys very briefly the outstanding characteristics of the region which definitely became a department by decree of General Domingo Vásquez in 1893. The last of this series concerns the Department of Olancho, and was prepared under the general direction of Professor Fernando F. Figueroa. Somewhat more pretentious than the preceding, this study of over one hundred pages is divided into "Geografía general" and "Geografía particular", the first an analysis of the general features of the department and the second of its districts and lesser divisions.

Carlos Izaguirre has published (Tegucigalpa, 1935) a short volume on educational topics, the product of a series of articles con-

tributed in the course of 1926 to the review *Reconciliación* of Tegucigalpa. The writer had visited the United States for the purpose of observing pedagogical methods and practices and has summarized in this volume the fruits of his experience. There are forty-five short chapters embracing all aspects of the educational problem, particularly as it applies to the peculiar requisites of the republic of Honduras.

The director of the Biblioteca Nacional of Honduras, Dr. Antonio Ochoa Alcántara, has written a pamphlet (*La Nueva Honduras*, Tegucigalpa, 1934) devoted to the new nationalism which he preaches for Honduras. The subtitle of this brief study is "hacia un verdadero nacionalismo". This Honduran intellectual insists that the fundamental necessity of the nation is the rigid exclusion of foreign competition in industry, banking, and public administration. Central American immigration should be stimulated, particularly that of an agricultural or industrial character. This contribution is in reality especially well conceived and well written. It contains no element whatsoever of chauvinism or patriotic exaltation.

The president of the Sociedad de Geografía e Historia de Honduras, Dr. Esteban Guardiola, has written (Tegucigalpa, 1934) a biographical sketch of a notable jurist and public citizen of the republic, Dr. Rafael Alvarado Manzano, whose career extended from 1836 to 1923. Dr. Guardiola outlines the general scope of Alvarado Manzano's contribution to Honduras, his erudition, the multiplicity of his public interests that included practically every ministerial position, his brilliant service on the bench of the supreme court of Honduras and his aptitude in the direction of the national university. The volume is a small tribute to one of the illustrious citizens of Honduras.

The Sociedad de Geografía e Historia has distinguished itself not only for the monographic series already described but for the publication of numerous other historical contributions of importance in the study of Hondurean development. The monthly *Revista de Archivo y Biblioteca Nacionales* publishes regularly materials bearing on the archaeology, colonial history, and contemporary evolution of the republic. The valuable *Bosquejo Histórico de Honduras* of Rómulo Durón and the *Compendio de Historia de Honduras* of Félix Salgado, have both been issued under its auspices.

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RICHARD PATTEE.

VARIOUS BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ITEMS

So far no one has proven that Columbus was an American. But he has been claimed by almost every country of Europe. And now comes "proof" that he was a Greek named Nicolaos Ypshilantis, a prince from the Island of Chios. The claims are made in a little book of 92 pages entitled *Christopher Columbus was a Greek . . .* by Spyros Cateras, who printed the volume privately at Manchester, N. H., early in 1937. The book is illustrated with portraits of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Columbus, and Plato, together with drawings of a ship and sailors of Columbus's time and a map of the United States. In his preface the author states: "Throughout ten years of hard researches, we say that we discovered the discoverer of America and we hope that our work will fill the disputable pages in the history forever". As a result of his "investigations", Mr. Cateras has found, among other things, that Alexander the Great and his army were in Uruguay, that the Indians of Utah speak an "ancient Doris dialect", that the name America comes from an Indian name for the first Greeks to arrive here whom they called "Homerica", etc., etc. The language of the book is awkward, the spelling is inconsistent, the grammar is poor, and the printing bad. However, these defects are to be modified in a second edition a notice of which appears at the end of the book: "In this, our first edition, the reader may find some typographical or grammatical mistakes, of which in our second edition will be corrected with some more amendments and evidences so as to please the most doubtful persons about our history concerning the Nikolaos Ypshilantis that he was the man who was called Colon the Younger, Nikolas Griego, Christopher Columbus. The Author".
—A. C. W.

Rubber has been called the "liquid gold of South America" and since colonial days on the South American continent men have given their lives in a tremendous struggle with their fellow men and with the forces of nature in order to satisfy their cupidity. Even at present a virtual human slavery is perpetuated in the deep jungles of the Amazon in order that man may have this great necessity of his civilization. And this form of slavery has been the most cruel type

of human bondage. But today this struggle for rubber has emerged from the jungles and invaded the channels of trade, finance, and diplomacy in as desperate, though less bloody, struggle as was ever waged in the depths of the South American, Asiatic, and African continents. The story of this modern tragedy is told by Howard and Ralph Wolf in *Rubber. A Story of Glory and Greed* (New York: Covici Friede Publishers, 1936. Pp. 533. \$4.25). Their account begins in sixteenth-century America. From its primitive beginnings here the authors trace the rubber industry to the present time, telling not only of methods of production at its source but its manufacturing in the past and present, with something about the great rubber companies today. No student of international economic relations or of Brazilian history should fail to read this sprightly and interesting saga of rubber.—A. C. W.

If one wishes to feel, after reading a book, that he has had a most pleasant informal chat with the author, nothing better can be recommended than *Escape to the Tropics* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1937. Pp. 272. Illus. \$2.50) by Desmond Holdridge. And to add to the reader's pleasure are many superb photographs. This book mixes history in small doses with larger amounts of genuine description. The first portion of the account deals with Puerto Rico, the former Danish West Indies, and several small West Indian islands, while the second part tells of the author's experiences in Dutch Guiana and Brazil searching for Paul Redfern, lost in 1927, whom the author thinks he nearly reached.—A. C. W.

In recent years numerous individuals, both churchmen and laymen, have written about Father Junípero Serra, the famous Franciscan missionary who played so great a part in the California mission field and in spreading the Catholic faith in northern New Spain in the last half of the eighteenth century. His story is told again in *The Spirit of Serra* (pp. 202. Illus.) by the Reverend Thomas F. Cullen "with an Introduction by the Most Reverend Francis P. Keough". It was published in 1935 at Providence, Rhode Island, by the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary. With the present Church-State problems in Mexico in mind the author (p. 11) has attempted to bring Father Serra into the perspective into which Mexico may be viewed. His missions exhibited in a striking way the benefits which religion can convey, and demonstrated in a convincing manner the power of the Church to elevate a race to a life in keeping with the teaching of the gospel.

The book is divided into twenty chapters giving a chronological summary of the life and activities of Father Serra, and the author concludes his study with thoughts on the present religious conditions in Mexico. There is much of interest here for Protestants as well as Catholics.—A. C. W.

In 1860, an interesting account of the Battle of the Alamo was written but never published until it appeared recently as *The Fall of the Alamo* (San Antonio, Texas: The Naylor Co., 1936. Pp. x, 47. Illus. \$75). The author was Dr. John Sutherland, a Virginian born in 1792, who moved to Texas in 1835. The next year, because of an injury received in a fall from a horse, he was fortunately spared the fate of his friends at the Alamo, but he was able to tell from first-hand knowledge the story of the battle. No immediate use was ever made of this interesting memoir, although one writer planned to publish it. Thereafter, it seems to have been lost, only to be found again in time to appear at this appropriate period in Texas history. The grand-daughter of the author, Annie B. Sutherland, is to be thanked for making this publication possible.—A. C. W.

Off the coast of Texas, not far from Brownsville, is the privately owned little island of Padre, which inspired the title for a recent book: *South to Padre* (Boston: Lothrop, Lee, and Shepard Co., 1936. Pp. 232. Illus. \$2.50), by Dorothy Childs Hogner. Starting from New York with an old Ford and \$300, the author and her artist husband explored the island and then set off for Old Mexico. Along their route from New York to Mexico, they described what to them appeared to be unusual and interesting sights and experiences. About two-thirds of the book treats of the United States, especially Louisiana and Texas, while the remaining one-third tells of their experiences on the trip to Mexico City and back to the United States border. The volume is well illustrated by Mr. Hogner, but it is just another travel book.—A. C. W.

Jimmy Radburne, an English lad of eighteen, went to Patagonia in the nineteenth century. The true story of his life is told in *El Jimmy, Outlaw of Patagonia* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1936. Pp. 399. Illus. \$3.00), by Herbert Childs. In this great region, Radburne became a gaucho, and after committing murder, an outlaw. He married an Indian girl, the daughter of a chief, and finally settled

down as a respectable *estanciero*. It was in this social stratum that the author of this book met Radburne. His admiration for this quaint Englishman finally caused him to write the present book. The volume is not only the life of Radburne, but, above all, a description of the gaucho and his environment for the past forty years. The subject matter is interesting, the style good, and the volume is well illustrated with photographs.—A. C. W.

Four hundred years ago in 1536, Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca completed his remarkable journey from Florida to Mexico. The story of his experiences he put into a long letter to the king of Spain. This was published at Zamora in 1542 under the title of *Naufragios*. Taking this account and reading between the lines, Haniel Long, a poet, has written the *Interlinear to Cabeza de Vaca. His Relation of the Journey from Florida to the Pacific, 1528-1536* (Santa Fe, Writers' Editions, 1936. Pp. 38. \$1.50). The result is a story of human adaptability to incredible hardships. By following the facts of Alvar Núñez's account, Mr. Long has dealt with what might be implied but not actually stated by his hero. In this manner, history and fiction have been most interestingly mixed by the author, and with little harm, it should be stated, for the student who is conversant with the original account.—A. C. W.

A book with a curious title is *White Elephants in the Caribbean. A Magic Journey through all the West Indies* (New York: Robert M. McBride and Co., 1936. Pp. xvi, 301. Illus. \$2.75), by Henry Albert Phillips. The "White Elephants" are the numerous islands in the Caribbean over which nations have fought; and having won them, these same nations have little changed them—at least this seems to be the author's meaning, though it is never very clearly stated why he has chosen such a title. At any rate, each of the important islands is treated, as are also certain portions of Central America and the Spanish Main. The book is another travel account which mixes history and other matters in so pleasing a manner that most persons—except historians—will probably consider the time well spent in reading it.—A. C. W.

In *Thunder on the Gulf, or the Story of the Texas Navy* (Dallas: The Turner Co., 1936. Pp. 128. Illus. \$1.50), the author, C. L. Douglas, writes of the little-known navy of Texas during the period of its

war for independence from Mexico. The account is based upon many documents, including the "Navy Papers" of the state of Texas, and it is written in a dramatic and interesting way. For the first time the reader will learn of the origin of the navy which attacked Mexican shipping in the Gulf and which succeeded in keeping enemy ships away from the Texas coast. This history fits in nicely with the better known subject matter of the larger struggle for Texas independence, and it enables the student of the period to appreciate better many events related to the activities of this small but important navy.—A. C. W.

Charles Wendell David, professor of European history in Bryn Mawr College, has performed a real service in translating and editing *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi* (*The Conquest of Lisbon*) from the unique manuscript in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936. Pp. xii, 201. \$3.75). The subject matter is the conquest of Lisbon from the Moors in 1147—an incident of the second crusade. There is an interesting introduction which is followed by the original Latin of the manuscript and its English page-for-page translation. Both introduction and text are well annotated, and there is a useful glossary. Professor David calls the conquest "an event of the utmost importance in the early development of the Portuguese monarchy". The author of the manuscript was one of the crusaders. The volume, which is No. 24 of the "Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies", is a scholarly production.

From the Primavera Press of Los Angeles appeared (1936), under copyright of the Automobile Club of Southern California a series of twelve "full-cover paintings depicting outstanding episodes in the exploration and settlement of the west" made by Carl Oscar Borg and Millard Sheets. The pictures (in colors) are accompanied by interpretative, historical descriptions by Professor Herbert Eugene Bolton. The book, a small folio in size, is fittingly entitled *Cross, Sword & Gold Pan*. The pictures are typical of the region and are as follows: Coronado discovers Zuni; Oñate enters New Mexico; The coming of the cattle; The founding of San Diego Mission; Anza crosses the Sand Dunes; Jedidiah Smith at San Gabriel; The founding of Los Angeles; Trapper Days in Taos; The Santa Fe Trade; The Era of the Boston Ships; Fremont crosses the Sierra; The Capitulation of Cahuenga; Gold discovered at Sutter's Mill. Professor

Bolton's descriptions are short and to the point. The small volume, although doubtless intended partly as propaganda, excellently serves the purpose of its publishers and in its appearance it is even distinguished.

Harcourt, Brace and Company (New York) have published a volume by L. M. Nesbitt, entitled *Desolate Marches: Travels in the Orinoco Llanos of Venezuela* (pp. 320, \$2.50). This narrative, written from actual experiences by an engineer, describes a surveying expedition in the llanos or grassy plains of the Orinoco. The work was performed under the auspices of a petroleum company, who agreed to survey not only the area covered by the concession but also a given area in an adjacent part of the country. The value of the work to the historian lies in the hints relative to the workings of the foreign petroleum companies, which coöperated to an extent not usually known.

William Allen Robinson, known for his "sole" voyages in a small boat, has written an interesting account of a *Voyage to Galapagos* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, pp. viii, 279, 8 illus., \$3.00). This is a straightforward narrative of three people from New England who sailed down the Atlantic Coast, through the Panama Canal, down the west coast of South America, and over to the Galapagos. The illustrations are by Daniel T. West, one of the voyagers. There is little history in the volume, but it contains some good descriptions.

Licentiate José Angel Ceniceros, sub secretary of foreign relations in Mexico, was invited by the Committee of Cultural Relations with Latin America—which is directed by Dr. Hubert C. Herring, to give an address at the tenth annual seminar sponsored by the committee. His address, which was delivered at Cuernavaca, "Actitud de México en sus Relaciones internacionales—Afirmación y Superación de las Doctrinas" was published in Mexico (Imprenta de la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, 1935, pp. 39). Pp. 31-39 consist of "Editoriales al Margen de la Conferencia". At the conclusion of his address, Sr. Ceniceros gives nine points toward which Mexico is striving in its international relations.

Pamphlet No. 21, issued by the Catholic Association for International Peace (located at 1312 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., Wash-

ton, D. C.) is entitled *An Introduction to Mexico* (1936, pp. 48, ten cents). The authors of this pamphlet are Anna Dill Gamble, chairman of the Latin American Committee, Rev. R. A. McGowan, and the Latin American Committee. In the brief compass of this publication, some twenty-one subjects are very lightly discussed, including, among other things, Indian culture, the modern development of Mexican life; labor in Mexico, religion, illiteracy and Indianism, the new individualism, the revolution and new land developments, Catholic social problems, the Church and social changes, and other matters. The pamphlet ends with a study course in nine lessons. These might have been extended with profit and the list of references might have been increased, although it was probably intended that new references would be introduced in the lessons themselves. The pamphlet is frankly one of propaganda and states the Catholic viewpoint excellently. It was sponsored by Fordham University, and is, on the whole, written with restraint. There is room for a publication, covering in the same volume, the Catholic, the non-Catholic, the purely economic, the purely religious, and the purely cultural aspects of the Mexican question. If possible, these should be written by Mexicans.

Gold, Diamonds and Orchids, by William LaVarre (New York, Fleming H. Revell Company [1835], pp. 298, \$3.00) is an account of an expedition through British Guiana. Its author is an explorer who explores for profit, getting from South American jungles many substances which civilization finds valuable, either as aids in science and industry, or as personal adornment. His narrative is told in a breezy manner that suggests that it may have been "pepped up" a bit, but it makes an interesting volume. His various observations on the natives and especially his assertion that he stumbled on a survival of the couvade should be noted and checked by ethnologists.

The Texas Centennial has called forth a number of publications and doubtless books and pamphlets will continue to be published for some time yet. Among other companies, the Naylor Company of San Antonio has published a number of these. Recently, that company has published a small pamphlet called *Romantic San Antonio*, which was written by Harvey Partridge Smith (1936, pp. 31). This is a "descriptive journey to the many picturesque and romantic places in and around old San Antonio" and is illustrated by the author with pen sketches. The descriptions, of course, include the Alamo

and gives the author an opportunity to describe the heroic defense of the Texans under Travis and Crockett. The missions, governor's palace, and other buildings and places are also described; as is also the old miracle play, "Los Pastores", which is given annually about Christmas time. Another interesting publication of the same company is Jack C. Butterfield's *Men of the Alamo, Goliad and San Jacinto* [1936], pp. vii, 46. The subtitle of this small pamphlet is "An analysis of the motives and actions of the Heroes of the Texas Revolution".

Another production called forth by the Texas Centenary is *Viva Tejas*, by Rubén Rendón Lozano. This is the story of the Mexican-born patriots of the Republic of Texas and was published (1936) by the Southern Literary Institute at San Antonio and Houston (pp. 50; popular ed., paper, fifty cents). The author has wisely shown how many Mexican-born men aided the Texans in their revolution against Mexico. He quite truly says that the revolution would have failed without the aid rendered by the native population. Part of the edition is bound in cloth.

Another volume issued by the Southern Literary Institute is *Shamrock and Cactus* by W. M. Ryan (1936, pp. 63, cloth, \$1.00, paper, fifty cents). This is the story of the Catholic heroes of Texas independence. Some interesting facts are brought out.

Bulletin No. 4 of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, of "Piedras Negras Preliminary Papers" has been published only in preliminary, multigraphed form. It is entitled "Piedras Negras Pottery" (pp. 69, and 14 plates). The study is divided into two parts: I, Vessels; II, Figurines, Ornaments, and Miscellaneous Objects. There is a bibliographical list.

Eleanor P. Clarke's treatise "Designs on the prehistoric Pottery of Arizona" (pp. 76) was published by the University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona, as No. 4, Vol. VI (May 15, 1935), *University of Arizona Bulletin*. It forms "Social Science Bulletin" No. 9. The treatise is illustrated in colors with a number of specimens. The pamphlet also contains an excellent bibliographical list.

U Le Lah Princess of Hir Ri Hi Gua of South Tampa Bay Florida's Pocahontas!, by Myrtle Taylor Bradford [Tampa?], 1936, pp.

[4], 61, \$1.25) is a poor poetic adaptation of the story of Juan Ortiz, the sole survivor in Florida of the Narváez expedition, who was found by Hernando de Soto and served his expedition as interpreter until his death in the western wilderness. This story is given in great detail by Garcilaso de la Vega and in lesser, but probably less fanciful, detail by the gentleman of Elvas (see Robertson, *True Relation of the Hardships Suffered by Governor Fernando de Soto*, DeLand, 1932-1933, II, 38 ff., and notes 56-60, pp. 340-342). Apparently, as has been frequently done, the Florida Indians of the sixteenth century have been confused with the later Seminoles.

Rare Americana: A Catalogue of historical and geographical Books, Pamphlets, & Manuscripts relating to America with numerous Annotations bibliographical and descriptive, No. 9, has been issued by Henry Stevens, Son and Stiles of London. Many important titles pertaining to Hispanic America are listed.

The same firm has also issued *A Catalogue of Maps and Atlases relating to all parts of the World* which is New Series, No. 23.

The *Catálogo de Libros Americanos de la Librería "Cervantes"* de Julio Suárez is issued in two parts—A-K and L-Z. It may be had by addressing the Librería at Lavalle 558, Buenos Aires. Many excellent titles are listed.

Another book catalogue of recent publication (1935) is that entitled *Catálogo de la Librería de Porrua Hnos y Cía*. This book-store is located at Esquina Avenida Argentina y Justo Sierra, City of Mexico.

Still another sales catalogue of interest is *Americana: Voyages around the World—Cartography* (Catalogue 63, 1936) of Otto Lange, Florence, Italy.

Revista Bimestre Cubana for March-April, 1935, is devoted largely to José Agustín Caballero y Rodríguez, the two contributors being Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring and Francisco González del Valle. Enrique Gay Calbó contributes an article on Enrique José Varona; Leland H. Jenks, one on La Influencia de los Intereses Americanos en Cuba; José Manuel Pérez Cabrera, one on El Maestro Fray

Gerónimo de Valdés, Obispo de Cuba; Edith L. Kelly, a Bibliografía de la Avellaneda; and Emilia Bernal, one on Francisco Agüero y Estrada (*El Solitario*). The November-December, 1935, issue is devoted almost entirely to the great playwright, Lope de Vega. The issue for January-February, 1936, has the following: *El Altruismo de los Cubanos*, by José de Gelabert; *Manos Juntas!*, by Fernando Ortiz; *El Aniversario y la Biblioteca*, by Fermín Peraza y Sarausa; *Varona en la Cultura nacional*, by José María Chacón y Calvo; *Martí y el Libro*, by Félix Lizaso; *La Nacionalización de la Enseñanza en Cuba*, by María Corominas de Hernández; *José de la Luz y Caballero y la Biblioteca de la Sociedad Económica*, by Francisco González del Valle; *Don José de la Luz y Caballero*, by Manuel S. Yera Rodríguez; *Cuba de 1500 a 1511*, by Carlos M. Trelles; *José Antonio Saco, Estudio biográfico*, by Pánfilo Camacho.

Tomo XVI (January-December, 1934) of the *Anales de la Academia de la Historia de la Cuba* (Havana, Imprenta "El Siglo XX", 1935, pp. 162, 1 leaf) contains the following: *Pintó y la Independencia de Cuba*, by Dr. Diego González; a tribute to the memory of the general in chief of the liberating army, Dr. Pedro E. Betancourt, by Tomás de Jústiz; the opening address of the president of the academy at its meeting of October 10, 1934, by Tomás de Jústiz; a report relative to the services of Gaspar Rosales Socarrás in the war of 1868, by Joaquín Llaverías; a report relative to the plaza of the cathedral, by Dr. Emeterio S. Santovenia; *Sobre la renuncia del Dr. Fernando Ortiz [como miembro de la Academia]*; *Genealogía de las ideas separatistas en Cuba*, by José Manuel Ximeno y Torriente.

The *Revista Universitaria* (the organ of the University of Cuzco) in its issue for December, 1934 (Año XXIII, tomo II, 2d semester of 1934, no. 67) has the following of interest: *El poderoso Camante*—a transcript of a few "crónicas" of Luis María Robledo; *Choque Khiran*, by E. C.; *Obras de Ingeniería en el Cuzco*, by Emiliano López Saa; *Aspecto literario de la Ideografía Quechua*, by Rebecca Fernández B. de Merel; *Cuestiones indígenas*, by Dr. Francisco Ponce de León; *El Problema de Yanaconazco en la República peruana*, by Ing. Federico Uranga; *Ánálisis de un deposito encontrado en Ollantaytambo*, by Dr. Leónidas Hurtado Povea. The issue for the second semester of 1935 (Año XXIV, No. 69, December) has the following: *Las Transformaciones del Derecho privado—Evolución del Concepto*

de Contrato, by Dr. José Luis Bustamante y Rivero; El Petróleo i sus proyecciones en el Peru en los últimos quince años, by Humberto Núñez Borja; Las "Comunidades" indígenas—La Explotación del Trabajo de los Indios, by Jorge Cornejo Bouroncle; La Novela indigenista, by Alfredo Yépez Miranda; Darwin en el Perú, by César Vargas C.; Doctor Cosme Pacheco (necrology); Sajsawamán, by Federico Ponce de León; Notas adicionales sobre Sacsaywamán, by Federico Ponce de León; Estatuto Universitario—a supreme decree issued June 28, 1635.

The First American Play by Carlos E. Castañeda, is published as No. 1, Vol. III (January, 1936), of "Preliminary Studies of the Texas Catholic Historical Society", which is issued at St. Edward's University, Austin, Texas. This item first appeared in the *Catholic World* for January, 1932. In his introduction to the translation of this play, Dr. Castañeda states that the play was found in a manuscript book in the García Collection in the University of Texas, which bears the date "1619" on its title page. The volume has four items, one of which was written by Cristóbal Gutiérrez de Luna. This, however, Dr. Castañeda believes may really have been written by Rev. Toribio de Motolinia, and was simply copied by Gutiérrez de Luna. It is a simple dialogue entitled "The Conversion and Baptism of the last four Kings of Tlaxcala in New Spain". Dr. Castañeda presents not only the play in the original Spanish but gives a translation of it into English. The introduction is constructive and valuable.

The Minutes of the Nineteenth regular Meeting of the Texas Knights of Columbus Historical Commission (held at Incarnate Word College, San Antonio, Texas, November 26, 1935; pp. 29) contains an interesting list of mission sites and visitas in Texas (pp. 24-25). All of these sites, if not already marked, are to be marked as soon as possible. The report of Dr. C. E. Castañeda, the historiographer of the organization (pp. 26-27) states that "shortly after Pineda explored the coast [of Texas] in 1519, Garay dispatched a second expedition under a certain Camargo to establish a settlement at the mouth of the Rio Grande"—this preceding Garay's expedition of 1523 by about two years.

The Minutes of the Twentieth regular Meeting of the same organization, which was held at the Hotel Buccaneer at Galveston, May 18, 1936, contains, among other materials the report of its chairman, Rev. Paul J. Foik, C.S.C., and that of its historiographer, Dr. Carlos E. Castañeda.

The paper read by Dr. Francis Borgia Steck, O.F.M., at the Catholic Historical Meeting of 1934 in Washington on "The first half-century of Spanish Dominion in Mexico (1522-1572)" has been printed by the Central Bureau Press, 3835 Westminster Place, St. Louis, Mo. (1935, pp. 32). The treatise is well footnoted.

The "Preliminary Studies of the Texas Catholic Historical Society" reprints David Donoghue's Coronado, Oñate, and Quivira, and Walter J. O'Donnell's La Salle's Occupation of Texas, from *Mid-America* (XVIII, new series, VII, No. 2).

"Foreign Policy Reports" for January 1, 1936, devoted to *The Cuban Revolution: Reform and Reaction*, was written by Charles A. Thomson. It is a good review of Cuban political conditions within recent years. There is need of a good, reliable treatise on United States-Cuban relations during the last ten years. Mr. Thomson has touched on various factors of economic importance; and shows that notwithstanding the abrogation of the Platt Amendment, Cuban conditions have been still influenced largely from the United States. The present régime may be intervention under another name. By the same author, the Foreign Policy Association under date of April 15, 1936, published a digest entitled *Dictatorship in the Dominican Republic*, which constitutes an excellent report.

World Affairs for June 1936 has materials relating to Hispanic America as follows: Pax Americana—The New Pan Americanism and the Pan American Peace Conference convoked by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, by J. M. Yepes; Gómez of Venezuela, by Chester Lloyd Jones; Peace Machinery in the Americas, by Raul d'Eça; The Argentine Farm Relief Program, by Simon G. Hanson; Radical Isms fret Latin America, by George Howland Cox.

Mid-America for October, 1935, has an article by Mother Julia Heffern, entitled "The foundations of the Society of the Sacred Heart in Chile". The issue for January, 1936, has an article by

Peter M. Dunne on "The Tepehuan Revolt" [1616-1617]. The issue for April, 1936, has: The Virgin of the Reconquest of New Mexico, by J. Manuel Espinosa; Coronado, Oñate and Quivira, by David Donoghue; and a translation of certain documents relative to La Salle's occupation of Texas, by Walter J. O'Donnell. These are translated from the Dunn transcripts of the University of Texas, which were made by Dr. W. E. Dunn from the originals in A. G. I., Audiencia de México, 61-6-20. None of them have previously appeared in print, either in Spanish or English form, except one letter of Alonso de León, of April 22, 1689. These documents constitute the Spanish record of La Salle's attempt.

The *Boletín de la Academia Panameña de la Historia*, for January, April, and July, 1935 (III, No. 8) is devoted to a Cronología de los Gobernantes de Panamá, 1516-1532, by Manuel María Alba C. All together they number 217—some serving as governor general several times. Sr. Alba points out that students find it difficult at times to ascertain who was the governor of the region and his title. He has painstakingly investigated many books and documents in his search for these men. The result is of value and will save students of the history of this region considerable work and perhaps worry.

In *The Catholic Historical Review* for October, 1935, appears Herbert E. Bolton's "The Black Robes of New Spain" (which was read at the fifteenth annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association held at Washington in December, 1934).

The biography of *Dom Pedro the Magnanimous, Second Emperor of Brazil*, on which Professor Mary Wilhelmine Williams of Goucher College has been working for several years, will be published in the autumn by the University of North Carolina Press. It is the result of research in the United States, Brazil, Portugal, and France, the most important sources consulted being the archives of the Emperor which are in possession of Prince Pedro d'Orléans Bragança at the Château d'Eu. Several of the illustrations in the book will be copies of portraits at the Château which have never been published.

In the 1937 number (No. 9) of the annual *Publications* of the East Tennessee Historical Society, Knoxville, Tennessee, there will appear the first instalment of a series of documents, "Papers from the Spanish Archives relating to Tennessee and the Old Southwest, 1783-1800", translated and edited by D. C. and Roberta Corbitt,

Candler College, Havana, Cuba. Most of the letters included are from transcripts and photostats of documents in the Archivo General de Indias, Papeles de Cuba, obtained for the McClung Collection of the Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee, by Professor Arthur P. Whitaker. A few of the letters, however, are from the Archivo Nacional de Cuba, Floridas, located in Havana, Cuba. The first instalment covers the period, 1783 to 1785, inclusive, and the number of the *Publications* in which it is to appear is expected to be ready for distribution about August 1.

The Universidad Católica del Perú, through its Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas has already begun or will soon begin the publication of a new series entitled "Biblioteca Peruana de Libros y Documentos Inéditos" in order that it may contribute to a better knowledge of the history of Peru's past. The first book of the series is *Diario de Lima* by Antonio Suardo and his successor Diego de Medrano. This is said to give the most complete picture known of the viceregal epoch. Other volumes of the series will be *Teatro eclesiástico de la Santa Iglesia Metropolitana de la Ciudad de los Reyes* by Fray Diego de Córdoba Salinas; *La Historia de la Provincia Mercedaria de Lima*, by Father Mondragón; *Las Memorias del General D. Juan Buendía*; *La Historia del Colegio del Cuzco de la Compañía de Jesús desde sus Orígenes*, by Antonio de Vega, S.J.; *El Diario de Noticias de Lima*. Documental collections will include Papers of the Conquistadors of the sixteenth century; documents for the history of mining in Peru in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, documents relating to independence, 1809-1810; and the unpublished correspondence of archbishops and viceroys, sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. Each volume of the series will have from 250 to 300 pages and will cost five soles in Peru. The cost to foreign countries will be the same plus the post. Rubén Vargas Ugarte, S.J., of Lima, Peru, has compiled a volume entitled *Manuscritas Peruanos en las Bibliotecas del Extranjero*. This volume of 376 pages describes over four hundred manuscripts, some of which are inserted entire. The same author has also written other books as follows: *Historia del Culto de María en Hispanoamérica y de sus Imágenes y Santuarios más celebrados* (Lima, 1931); *El Episcopado en los Tiempos de la Emancipación Sudamericana* (Buenos Aires, 1932); and *Jesuitas Peruanos desterrados a Italia* (Lima, 1934). This erudite Jesuit did considerable work in the libraries of the United States several years ago.

MEXICAN BIBLIOGRAPHY IN 1935

In the Pan American Scientific Congress, which was held in the City of Mexico in 1935, it was determined to compile the bibliography of Hispanic America for the nineteenth century. Until that moment comes, we shall continue to gather together data for so important a work, which will require the coöperation of many collaborators. Recent years have been very significant for bibliographical investigation, and it can be said that works of considerable value have been realized, which indicate the utility of this investigation and what is awaited from it by studious persons.

During this very year was founded the Instituto Mexicano de Difusión del Libro. This is a coöperative enterprise for production and sale composed of writers, artists, and readers. It publishes a bibliographical bulletin called *El Libro Mexicano* (address: P. O. Box, 1413, Mexico, D. F.). In this bulletin is given an account of recent books, together with their market price and the conditions governing sale throughout the world. That Instituto is now acting as a book-store agency and can furnish data on Mexican and Hispanic American books, as well as the books themselves. Its director is Agustín Aragón Leiva, author of the book of essays, *La Ciencia como Drama*, and of numerous writings on music, cinematography, and scientific matters.

It is also worth noting the fact that there is an extraordinary and increasing interest in Mexican themes in the United States. This is attested by many books on Mexico which are being published and which have a place in the information which we have now gathered together.

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- Aacotia, Francisco X. Reseña de la ciudad de Xalapa. (s. p. i.). Pp. 62. 23x17 cm.
- Acevedo Escobedo, Antonio. Sirena en el aula. Tlalpan, D. F. Imprenta "Patricio Sanz". Pp. 166. 18.5x13 cm.
- Alanís Patiño, Emilio. (See Leyo, Gilberto).
- Alberti, Rafael. Versos de agitación. (s. p. i.). Ediciones Defensa Roja. Pp. 23. 16.8x11.5 cm.
- Verte y no verte. A Ignacio Sánchez Mejías. Dibujos de Manuel Rodríguez Lozano. Editorial "Fábula". Editor: Miguel N. Lira. Pp. 16. 4 ilust. 31.8x25.3 cm.

- This edition consists of 250 copies and was finished on August 13, 1935, the first anniversary of the death of Ignacio Sánchez Mejías.
- Aleocer, Dr. Ignacio. Apuntes sobre la antigua México-Tenochtitlán. Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia. Publicación No. 14. Tacubaya, D. F. Pp. 110, 2 maps, 3 plans, and 2 sketches. (s. p. i.). 29.6x19.8 cm.
- Alexandre, Vicente. Pasión de la Tierra. Poemas (1928-1929). Ediciones "Fábula". Pp. 78, 24x18 cm.
- The edition, which was made for Licentiates José G. Heredia and Enrique Asúnsolo, consists of 150 numbered copies, printed on a 6x10 Chandler hand press by Miguel N. Lira and Fidel Guerrero.
- Alessio Robles, Miguel. . . . Ideales de la revolución. Editorial "Cultura", 2p., 1., Pp. 2, 1, 7-168, 2 1. 19½ cm.
- La responsabilidad de los altos funcionarios; un discurso y un ejemplo. Editorial "Cultura". Pp. 37. 18 cm.
- Obregón como militar. Editorial "Cultura". Pp. 200., 2 1. 19.5 cm.
- Altamirano, Alberto I. Influence de la Littérature Francaise sur la Littérature Mexicaine. Essai de Littérature Comparée. (s. p. i.). Mexico, D. F. Librairie Cosmos, N.d. Pp. 112. 15x23 cm.
- Altamirano, Ignacio M. Atenea. Novela inconclusa. Imprenta Universitaria. Pp. 41. 23.5x18 cm.
- Alvarez, Alfredo. Madero y su obra. Documentos para la historia. Datos compilados por . . . Talleres Gráficos de la Nación. Pp. 42. 23.7x16.6 cm.
- Publications of the Dirección General de Acción Cívica del Departamento del Distrito Federal.
- Alvarez, Primitivo. El Estado de Guerrero. Geografía elemental. Imprenta "El Cuadratín". Pp. 80. 19.5x14 cm.
- Alvarez Acosta, Miguel. De la L. E. A. R. Romances. 1st ed. S. Luis Potosí. Editorial "Valores Humanos", 1935. Pp. 179, 22½x16 cm.
- Amador, Octavio. El pueblo que tenía sed. Premiado en el Concurso del Cuento Infantil. No. 2. Ilustraciones de Julio Prieto. Edición de la Oficina de Publicaciones de la Secretaría de Educación Pública. Talleres Gráficos de la Nación. Pp. 62. 17x11.5 cm.
- American automobile association. Mexico by motor. Washington, D. C., American automobile association, 1935. Cover-title. Pp. 31. Illus. (maps). 23 cm.
- Aragón Leyva, Augustín. La ciencia como drama. Ensayos de Estética y de Filosofía de la Ciencia. Prólogo del Dr. Manuel Sandoval Vallarta. Ediciones "El Hecho Mexicano". Pp. 113. 20.5x15 cm.
- Arenas Guzmán, Diego. La consumación del crimen. Episodios y documentos de la Revolución Mexicana. Ediciones Botas. Pp. 283. 19x12 cm.
- Argil, Dr. Gustavo. Patología renal. Imprenta Mundial, 1935. Pp. 323. Text engravings. 23x17 cm.
- The printing of this 2d ed. was finished October 17, 1935.
- Arte y vocabulario de la lengua ixil, con Doctrina y confessionario. Baltimore, The Maya society. Pp. 2, 1 l., facsim. Pp. 19, (1). 23 cm.
- Facsimile. Maya Society. Publication no. 14.

Asociación Nacional de Fabricantes de Cigarros. Problemas económicos de México. Ayer una riqueza, hoy un monopolio. La verdad sobre la industria cigarrera nacional. Imprenta Soria & Gárate. Pp. 40. 13x17 cm.

No. 1.

Asúnsolo, Enrique. Ausencia en Roma. Imprenta de Miguel N. Lira. Pp. 30, 14.1x16.2 cm. With one picture over and above the text by E. A. R.

This edition, the second of the series "Amigos de Fábula" was made by Miguel N. Lira and consists of 50 numbered copies.

Avilés, René. Una teoría estética. Imprenta Mundial. Pp. 46. 17.50x12 cm.
_____. Teresa Ducquer. Editorial "Cultura". Pp. 55. 24.5x18.5 cm.

Azuela, Mariano. Pedro Moreno, el insurgente. Biografía novelada. Ediciones Ercilla. Pp. 123. 23x15 cm.

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_____. Precursores. Ediciones Ercilla. Santiago de Chile. Pp. 125. 22.5x14.5 cm.

III.

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_____. Las causas económicas del nacimiento de las sociedades cooperativas. Talleres Gráficos de la Nación. Pp. 20.

Series "Doctrina cooperativista". First address given before the teachers of the Federal District, January 8, 1935, in the Palace of Fine Arts.

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Edition of the Oficina de Publicaciones of the Secretaría de Educación Pública.

_____. La influencia de los pensadores en el nacimiento de las sociedades cooperativas y los principios básicos rochdalianos. Talleres Gráficos de la Nación. Pp. 16.

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Shorthand version. Instituto de Orientación socialista.

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Bach, Prof. Federico. Doctrina y funcionamiento de las cooperativas de consumo dentro de la economía capitalista. Instituto de orientación socialista.—Talleres Gráficos de la Nación. Pp. 16.

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Shorthand version. Instituto de Orientación socialista.

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Series "Doctrina Cooperativista". Fifth address given before the teachers of the Federal District, January 17, 1935, in the Palace of Fine Arts.

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Edition of the Oficina de Publicaciones of the Secretaría de Educación Pública.

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World dominion Survey Series.

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Publicaciones del Departamento de Bibliotecas of the Secretaría de Educación Pública. Biblioteca del Obrero y Campesino. No. 8.

Barretto, Larry. Bright Mexico. New York, Farrar & Rinehart. Pp. 236.

Beltrán, Prof. Enrique. El Renacimiento. La Reforma. Las luchas religiosas. La Revolución Francesa y la religión. Talleres Gráficos de la Nación. Pp. 16.

Series "Historia de las Religiones". Fifth address given before the teachers of the Federal District, January 23, 1935, in the Palace of Fine Arts.

Shorthand version. Instituto de Orientación socialista.

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— La cristiandad en la Edad Media. La Iglesia y la sociedad. El poder del papado. Las cruzadas. La inquisición. Talleres Gráficos de la Nación. Pp. 16.

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Shorthand version. Instituto de Orientación socialista.

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Monograffias Mexicanas de Arte (No. 6), published by the Secretaría de Educación Pública, and directed by Jorge Enciso, director of Colonial and republic monuments.

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Beteta, Lic. Ramón. Programa económico y social de México. Una controversia. Sustentantes: doctor W. W. Cumberland, reverendo padre doctor R. A. McGowan y doctor Joseph Thronigg, S. J. y el doctor Ramón Beteta. Pp. 212. 24x16½ cm.

In English and Spanish. The translation and editing by Señor Beteta.

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Blom, Frans Ferdinand. Commerce, trade, and monetary units of the Maya. Washington, 1935. Illus. (Incl. map). 23-1½ cm.

In Smithsonian Institution, *Annual Report*, 1934, pp. 423-440.

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- Boone de C., Dra. J. Higiene mental y Eugenesia. Trabajo escrito para el Congreso de Higiene Mental. Pp. 15.
- Bowman, Heath, and Stirling Dickinson. Mexican Odessey. Chicago, New York, Willett, Clark & company. Pp. 6, 11. pp. 3-292, 1 1. Front., illus., maps. 23½ cm.
- Foreword by José Mojica.
- Illustrated by black prints.
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- Bustamante, Ing. Octavio. Importancia de las cartas geográficas y proposiciones presentadas ante el 20 Congreso del Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, a fin de que se activen y regularicen los levantamientos geodésicos y topográficos de los países adheridos a dicho instituto. Tacubaya, D. F. (s. p. i). Pp. 52 and 5 plates. 23x17. 6 cm.
- Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia. Publicación No. 16.
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- Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia.
- Bustos Cerecedo, Miguel. Revolución. Poema. Prólogo de Lorenzo Turrent Rozas. Xalapa, Ver. Editorial "Integrales". Pp. 43, 19½x14½ cm.
- Title page by Julio de la Fuente.
- Calvo Ramírez, Roberto. El estado y la violencia en la historia. Imprenta de Manuel León Sánchez. Pp. 192. 19x12 cm.
- Edited by the Centro de Estudios para Obreros.
- Preface by Licentiate Enrique González Aparicio.
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- The author was formerly a graduate of "Les Ecoles Professionnelles de la Société Suisse des Hôteliers", Cour-Lausanne, Switzerland; and had worked in the Ritz Hotel of the City of Mexico, the Jefferson Hotel of the city of St. Louis, Mo., the Royal Winter Palace Hotel of Gstaad, Switzerland, and in the Savoy, Claridge, and Berkeley Hotels of London.
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Summary: Móviles y carácter de la conquista de México-Tenochtitlán y de las demás naciones y pequeños Estados que constituyeron la Nueva España. Los sistemas de explotación de la riqueza. La religión como instrumento político. La mentalidad religiosa de los indígenas. El verdadero alcance de la transformación espiritual de los indígenas. La organización política y social de la Colonia. La economía indígena y la economía colonial. Su desarrollo divergente y su antagonismo.

— *La conquista del occidente de México*. Talleres Gráficos de la Nación. Pp. 32.

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Summary: La diversa actitud de los grupos indígenas ante los conquistadores. Los pequeños Estados y los grupos pre-políticos. La organización social y económica de las tribus nahuatlanas y pimanas. La conquista pacífica. Las Misiones Jesuítas, avanzadas de los conquistadores, colonizadores y mineros. La nueva táctica de conquista espiritual impuesta por la situación religiosa de las tribus pimanas).

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Summary: Situación social de las tribus pimanas. La lucha con las hordas atapascanas y serianas. La defensa y la organización militar de las misiones. Sus consecuencias políticas. La situación de los colonos criollos y mestizos. La teocracia jesuítica de Sonora y sus consecuencias económicas. El extrañamiento de la Compañía de Jesús y la transformación de la economía sonorense. El antagonismo entre indígenas y colonos, criollos o mestizos, por el disfrute de las tierras de cultivo.

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Shorthand version. Instituto de Orientación socialista.

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Summary: First address: Testimonios del hombre cuaternario de México, desechados por la ciencia. La sucesión cronológica de la cerámica mexicana. El cultivo del maíz por los primeros pobladores de México. La dinámica de la prehistoria, la protohistoria y la historia de México. Los arcaicos. Las migraciones occidentales náhoas. Las hordas chichimecas, otomanas y atapascanas. Las migraciones orientales olmecas. Los complejos culturales: la teocracia tolteca o teotihuacana; su organización económica y social. Causas de su destrucción. La cultura nahoatlaca-tolteca. La organización económica, social y política de la confederación azteca-acolhua-tepaneca. Second address: Las culturas del Oriente, del Sur y del Sureste de México; huastecos y totonacos, mixtecos y zapotecos, mayas y quichés. Elementos étnicos, complejos culturales, organización económica, social y política. Religión, moral, costumbres, lenguaje, ciencias, artes y tecnología. Los tarascos. La cultura arcaica evolucionada.

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Author and director of the work, Professor Efrén Orozco R.; music by the teacher José F. Vázquez; scenic direction by Señora Amalia de Castillo Ledón; artistic direction, costuming, decoration, and staging by Carlos González; master director, José F. Vásquez.
- Organization by the Dirección General de Acción Cívica of the Department of the Federal District. Cooperation by the Secretarías de Educación Pública and Guerra y Marina, of the Beneficencia Pública, and of the Jefatura de Policía.
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[The author is] a member of the National Academy of History and Geography and of the Mexican Society of Geography and History; Secretary of the Society of local Historical Studies in Jalapa, Ver., inspector of artistic, historical, and archeological monuments in the State of Veracruz, active delegate of the Permanent Commission of the Historical Congress celebrated in Oaxaca.

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[The author is] Director of the Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia.

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[The author is] teacher of mathematics in the secondary schools and professor of teaching technique of mathematics in the former Superior Normal School of the Universidad Autónoma of Mexico.

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(Indice: I. Concepto de sindicato; II. Breve historia del movimiento sindical; III. Situación jurídica de los sindicatos en el Derecho Obrero Mexicano; IV. Algunos problemas de los sindicatos mexicanos: a) Relaciones del sindicato con el individuo, b) Relaciones del sindicato obrero con el de patrones; c) Relaciones del sindicato con el Estado, d) El sindicato y las tendencias doctrinales del sindicalismo, e) La política del país y los líderes; V. Resumen de conclusiones).

Thesis presented for the purpose of getting the degree of licentiate in law and social sciences.

Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. Facultad de Derecho y Ciencias Sociales.

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